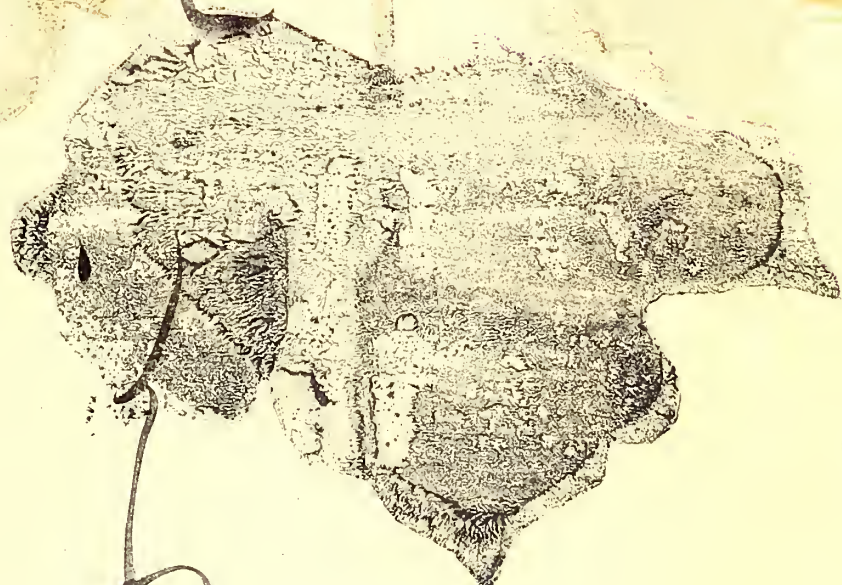


From Concept to Context

Approaches to Asian and Islamic Calligraphy



Calligraphic character in cursive script, possibly representing the Chinese character '心' (heart).



Calligraphic characters in cursive script, including the particle '也' (also), the particle '乃' (possessive particle), and the character '心' (heart).



Calligraphic characters in cursive script, including the character '心' (heart) written in three different styles.



Calligraphic characters in cursive script, including the character '心' (heart) written in two different styles.

佛利爾美術館藏

中日回文文法書例

丙寅夏 君約傳申 著



Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 1986

From Concept to Context

Approaches to Asian and Islamic Calligraphy

by Shen Fu, Glenn D. Lowry, and Ann Yonemura

This catalogue was edited, designed, produced, and distributed by the Smithsonian Institution Press on the occasion of an exhibition held at the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., July 29–November 16, 1986.

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Cover: Detail from handscroll, cat. no. 28.
Calligraphy by Hon'ami Kōetsu, early seventeenth century. The poems are from the *Kokin wakashū*; ink, gold, and silver on paper.

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Foreword

This special exhibition entitled *From Concept to Context: Approaches to Asian and Islamic Calligraphy*, presented by the Freer Gallery of Art, coincides with the twenty-sixth Comité International d'Histoire de l'Arte in Washington, D.C., August 11–17, 1986. Indeed, the theme of the exhibition is closely related to one of the major topics included for discussion at a session of this international meeting, “The Written Word in Art and as Art.”

Many of the examples of Chinese, Japanese, and Near Eastern calligraphy in this exhibition entered the Freer collection only recently, and a few are being shown by the museum for the first time. Moreover, this exhibition is the first comprehensive display of Asian and Islamic calligraphy ever installed by the Freer Gallery.

Ann Yonemura, assistant curator of Japanese art, and Shen Fu, curator of Chinese art, collaborated in writing the introduction to the Chinese and Japanese sections of the catalogue. In addition, these same scholars provided the essays and individual entries within their areas of expertise. Glenn D. Lowry, curator of Near Eastern art, wrote the essay and entries for the Islamic portion of this catalogue.

Far Eastern calligraphy is dominated by the innovations of the Chinese. The script, developed in China during the second millennium B.C., evolved with remarkable variety during the succeeding centuries. The historical and cultural connotations associated with each of the traditional Chinese scripts point to a stylistic sequence that provides guideposts for readily identifying and dating the scripts.

The admiration for Chinese culture, the spread of Buddhism, and the secular requirements of commerce stimulated the use of Chinese scripts throughout Asia. What remains so remarkable about the dispersion of Chinese writing is that the images and concepts, which already were fully evolved, were even further transformed and interpreted by non-Chinese artists into new and fresh forms that transcend their prototypes and reflect nuances of quite separate cultural backgrounds.

In the Near East, religion and trade also were crucial forces in the evolution of Islamic calligraphy. The spread of Islam and the reverence for the Qur'an required scribes who could imbue their writing with a heightened aesthetic sensitivity. Arabic was also the language of trade in the dauntingly vast expanses that stretched from the Mediterranean world in the west to the Chinese empire in the east. A reflection of that importance can be seen on the caches of linguistically polyglot documents found among the trade routes in Central Asia. Admiration for the elegance of Arabic script in China can also be seen on the Chinese metal and porcelain objects embellished with auspicious Arabic phrases.

Each of the calligraphic examples included in this special exhibition may be appreciated purely for its aesthetic qualities, without regard to its specific

meaning or provenance, whether Asia or the Near East—for aesthetic subtleties had quickly become, even in calligraphy’s early history, essential to critically evaluating a work. Yet, no written image or text can be appreciated in isolation of the culture and time in which it was produced. Concentrated in the written characters included in this exhibition are the sophisticated intellectual concepts and the stylistic traditions of millennia-old civilizations.

Faced with works of Chinese, Japanese, or Near Eastern calligraphy, we can begin by deciphering the basic meaning. But there remains to understand the subtle allusions and complex stylistic references to the past. It is exactly those allusions and references that are necessary to appreciate fully Asian and Islamic calligraphy. We recognize that to achieve a deep appreciation is a formidable task and one that can be accomplished only by learning more about the cultures and the people of the Far and the Near East. This special exhibition is, we hope, a modest step in the direction toward understanding. As we understand the traditions of other civilizations, we at the same time inevitably enrich our own.

Thomas Lawton
Director
March 1986

Acknowledgments

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Although the exhibition itself is largely a separate undertaking from the catalogue, the authors would like to take this opportunity to thank Patrick Sears for his exhibition design and Robert Evans, Cornell Evans, Francis Smith, John Bradley, Martin Amt, Craig Korr, and James Smith for their successful implementation of his concept.

As useful as word processors have become, the authors still relied heavily on Lisa Lubey and Elsie Kronenburg-Lee for producing various drafts and the final copy of the manuscript. James Hayden and John Tsantes are to be credited with the photographs that show Freer objects in such great detail. The authors would also like to thank Freer librarians Ellen Nollman and Lily Kecskes for their valuable assistance. Freer Director Thomas Lawton and Assistant Director Richard Louie provided general guidance and steady support throughout the project.

The authors appreciate the cooperation from various institutions that have granted permission to use their illustrations for reference in this catalogue. They include Musée du Louvre, Victoria and Albert Museum, Fogg Art Museum, Museum of Fine Arts (Boston), Arthur M. Houghton Collection, and Staatsbibliothek für Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Berlin).

Dr. Lowry is grateful to Dr. Christopher Murphy of the Library of Congress for providing a synopsis of the firman of Sultan Ahmed, and to Mr. Ibrahim Pourhadi of the Library of Congress and Professor Annemarie Schimmel of Harvard University for their help in translating several of the calligraphies in the exhibition. He also expresses his indebtedness to Dr. Z. A. Desai, formerly with the Archeological Survey of India, for his many insights into sixteenth-century Persian and Indian calligraphy and for his help in translating one of the verses by Mir Ali, and to Muhammad Zakariya for his calligraphy, which has been used in both the catalogue and the exhibition.

Dr. Fu wants to acknowledge his use or adaptation of Jonathan Chaves's translations of poems by Wang Chong and Huang Shen and a couplet by Fu Shan. Ann Yonemura is grateful to Professor Yoshiaki Shimizu for making available his extensive curatorial research on several of the exhibited works, and for providing readings of the poems in catalogue number 24.

Introduction to Asian Calligraphy

Calligraphy is regarded in China and Japan as the supreme artistic achievement, enjoying a prestige surpassed by no other art. Painting, which uses the same basic materials of brush and ink on paper or occasionally silk, became the sister art of calligraphy, while poetry, for its expression, is linked inseparably to writing. The practice and appreciation of calligraphy written with brush and ink are cultural values shared throughout East Asia. Undertaken by all educated men and women as a lifelong study, calligraphy is a conspicuous manifestation of cultivation and character, and is the most widely respected art form.

The written language of China was the original source of the writing systems of East Asia, and has functioned as a unifying cultural force in a region of diverse ethnic groups and mutually unintelligible spoken languages. The aesthetic and representational qualities of Chinese scripts and the vast corpus of religious, literary, and scientific writings in Chinese impelled the continued use of the language and writing system by the Koreans and the Japanese even after the development of convenient phonetic scripts for representing the sounds of their own languages.

From the earliest appearance of writing in China, certain characteristics of the writing system were established. Chinese is written with ideographic characters, symbols conveying meaning with no fixed relationship to sound as in phonetic alphabets. Many of the characters were pictographic in origin. The earliest surviving inscriptions in Chinese contain many characters having forms that directly suggest their meanings.

In time, the forms of the characters became more abstract and standardized so that characters could be composed of individual elements that would provide new meanings in combination. The vast expansion of possible symbols resulting from such combinations of standard components resulted in the invention of tens of thousands of characters, with several thousand required for general use. Some characters incorporate a phonetic element that is located according to convention on the right side. Elements that express meaning are placed to the left, top, or bottom of the character. More specific meanings can be conveyed by the association of two or more characters to form compound words.

The major Chinese script types are described in the table on page 12. Of these, the scripts of greatest antiquity—those preserved in inscriptions on oracle bones (C: *jiaguwen*) and in cast inscriptions on ceremonial bronzes (C: *jinwen* or *zhongdingwen*)—were well adapted to being carved or incised, and did not have a major role in the later development of scripts adapted to writing with the brush. They were not transmitted to Japan, which had no native writing system until Chinese characters were introduced in the fifth century A.D.

In the calligraphic art of China and Japan, five major script types may be

distinguished, each having distinct formal and compositional characteristics and expressive possibilities. The contrasts among the script types, both aesthetically and in terms of their convenience for writing and reading, led to some general functional distinctions and preferences.

Seal script (C: *zhuanshu*; J: *tensho*), subclassified as greater seal (C: *dazhuan*, ca. eighth century B.C.) and lesser seal (C: *xiaozhuan*, third century B.C.) scripts, for example, with its lines of even width, was suitable for carved inscriptions such as those on seals, but was also employed for contrast in large titles. Seal script had an important historical role in gradually standardizing the forms of individual characters and establishing consistency in their arrangement into vertical columns to be read from the top of each line beginning at the upper right.

Clerical script (C: *lishu*, second century B.C.; J: *reisho*), the first systematic script to be written with a brush, continued in China to be used for official

<i>Major Chinese Script Types</i>					
Period	Chinese Terms	Pinyin	Wade-Giles	Japanese	Variations of English Translations
13th–11th centuries B.C.	甲骨文	jiaguwen	chia-ku-wen		oracle-bone script
13th–4th centuries B.C.	金文 鐘鼎文	jinwen zhongdingwen	chin-wen chung-ting-wen		bronze script
ca. 8th century B.C.	大篆	dazhuan	ta-chuan	tensho	greater large } seal script
3d century B.C.	小篆	xiaozhuan	hsiao-chuan		small lesser standard } seal script
A.D. 2d century	隸書	lishu	li-shu	reisho	clerical official } script
since A.D. 4th century	草書	caoshu	ts'ao-shu	sōsho	cursive grass } script
	行書	xingshu	hsing-shu	gyōsho	semicursive running } script
	楷書	kaishu	k'ai-shu	kaisho	standard regular } script

writings, and its dignified, formal quality was also appreciated in artistic calligraphy. This script was, however, relatively little-used in Japan until the Edo period (1615–1868), when Japanese scholars specializing in Chinese studies studied and practiced Chinese archaic scripts.

Standard or regular script (C: *kaishu*; J: *kaisho*), fully evolved by the Sui (581–618) and Tang (618–907) periods, became the basis for most study of calligraphy in later times. Standard script combines clearly legible individual strokes, each employing inner movements of the brush, into a clearly legible form. Its pleasing, balanced proportions and consistent stroke order and structure were practical for writing, reading, and even carving into stone for monumental inscriptions or on woodblocks for printing.

Semicursive script (C: *xingshu*; J: *gyōsho*), a more fluid script written with many connected strokes, had its beginnings in innovations made in the clerical script for efficient writing of drafts. In practice, however, semicursive script usually reflects the structure and stroke order of standard script. It is often used in combination with standard or cursive script.

Cursive script (C: *caoshu*; J: *sōsho*) is the simplest and most abbreviated of Chinese scripts; it drastically reduces the number of strokes in a character and connects many elements, often into a single continuous impulse of the brush. The origins of cursive script actually antedate the evolution of standard script by several centuries. Because the prescribed number and order of strokes is altered in cursive script, both writing and reading of the script require special study. The Japanese cursive *kana* phonetic script evolved from the adaptation of Chinese cursive script to a strictly phonetic usage that was separated from the individual meanings of the characters. Formally and aesthetically, Japanese cursive *kana* (J: *hiragana* or *sōgana*) diverged from Chinese cursive scripts and evolved an artistic mode of expression that had no parallel in China.

In China and Japan, calligraphers use the same basic materials and employ similar methods of study and practice to master the art. Most calligraphic works are written on paper with black ink. Gold, silver, and red (vermilion) inks are used only for special purposes; gold and silver are almost exclusively employed in sacred scriptures such as Buddhist and Daoist sutras, and red is used for gifts on auspicious occasions, especially in China. A few examples of calligraphy in other colors survive, principally in the most luxurious Japanese Buddhist sutras.

Before paper was widely available in China, bamboo or wooden slips were used for writing, and many inscriptions accompany paintings on woven silk. Satin became popular in China during the seventeenth century, and was occasionally used for writing by Japanese painters of the Nanga school, who consciously emulated the tastes of Chinese scholars. Paper made from a variety of materials remained the dominant support for calligraphy. Whether

plain or decorated, paper provided a smooth, beautiful, and lasting surface for the movements of the brush, absorbing the ink quickly and responding to the most subtle variations of pressure and ink tonality. Although Chinese calligraphers occasionally used decorated papers, the taste for writing poetry on elaborately decorated grounds reached its most exquisite expression in Japan, where calligraphy was often executed over an independent design. Calligraphic inscriptions were cast into metalwork, engraved into stone or woodblocks for printing, and in Japan, occasionally employed in the decoration of ceramics.

The most important tool of Chinese and Japanese calligraphy, the essence of its expressive qualities, is the flexible brush (C: *bi*; J: *fude*). Made of different materials and in sizes ranging from the long, slender brushes used for classic Japanese *kana* to very large brushes virtually scrubbed across the surface of the paper, the brush is capable of every nuance of expression. In the hand of an accomplished calligrapher, the brush can produce the strictly spaced and virtually invariant characters of Buddhist sutra texts or the fluid and graceful forms of cursive script.

Calligraphy is, in a sense, an art of performance, requiring the mastery of specific techniques and physical discipline before creative expression is possible. The method of writing each stroke, the initial, internal, and terminal movements, and the order of writing strokes within a character is prescribed, and followed faithfully.

Calligraphic techniques assume that the writer is using his right hand, so all horizontal strokes are written from left to right, and vertical strokes are always begun from the top. Characters are generally begun from the left-side or upper element, and are written successively beneath each other in vertical columns. Horizontal inscriptions such as the titles of handscrolls, are written from the right, where the scroll first opens, toward the left. Only recently have some printed texts diverged from these general principles to read from left to right in conformity with European languages.

Regular practice and repetition of the forms of characters and texts are as essential to mastering the art of writing as are studies of techniques to performing music or dance. As the writer becomes more proficient, he seeks to advance his learning by copying texts by accomplished master calligraphers of the past, learning by imitating and assimilating their individual styles. In Japan, calligraphers first learned the art of writing from Chinese models, but in later times, after the development of their own artistic *kana* script, they could also study the classic writings of their own master calligraphers.

Once technique is mastered, the calligrapher can give expression to his individual style, which is revealed in the composition or proportions of characters, and in the variation of tempo and accents in the work as a whole. Selection of the paper or silk and control of the tonal variation of the ink also

affects the overall aesthetic quality of the work.

The artistic quality of calligraphy is judged on the merits of the writing alone, without regard to content. A superior poem does not improve a poor calligraphic work any more than a superior musical composition improves a poor performance. A calligraphic work is judged in the context of the nature of the script type chosen. The standard forms of seal, clerical, and regular script are formal and stable, emphasizing the architectural beauty of the form. In contrast, the semicursive and cursive scripts emphasize movement and rhythmic vitality. One script is not inherently more artistic than another, and the same calligrapher might write outstanding calligraphy in one script but do unexceptional work in another. Regardless of the script, a masterful calligraphic work reveals its inner vitality, just as an eagle, whether diving from the air or standing motionless on a cliff, reveals its inner life.

Calligraphy is not an abstract art, but rather an art of given form. No matter how simplified the characters, they must be sufficiently distinct to be read as writing. Calligraphic works are appreciated for their brushwork and composition, their style and spirit. Within their own traditions, however, to the trained eye of a connoisseur, the sources or models for a calligrapher's style can be distinguished from his personal achievements.

In China and Japan, calligraphy is executed in many formats, ranging from large inscriptions intended to be viewed in a public setting to hanging scrolls, albums, and handscrolls for private appreciation. The vertically elongated format of hanging scrolls or the long, continuous surface of horizontal handscrolls provide a format that allows a uniquely long, uninterrupted performance of calligraphy, limited only by the length of the text.

Within the limitations imposed by script forms, Chinese and Japanese calligraphers have achieved in their writing an endless variety of original variations. Through their work, we can perceive the creative achievement of each writer within one of the greatest and most enduring artistic traditions.

Chinese Calligraphy

Chinese regard calligraphy as their supreme artistic achievement. It is somewhat ironic that it should be the last aspect of Chinese culture to be studied seriously by large numbers of Western scholars. The delay in Western appreciation of written Chinese characters points to the difficulties inherent in the connoisseurship of calligraphy.

It is possible to appreciate Chinese calligraphy for its purely formal qualities, to admire the shapes of individual characters—each a complex and balanced unit—to perceive in the total composition each character or group of characters as it relates to the whole, and to appreciate the brushwork that in the hands of a master infuses the complete work with visual energy and excitement. For a thorough appreciation of Chinese calligraphy, however, the viewer should be able to grasp the meaning of the characters in proper context; however abstract their forms, Chinese characters always retain their inherent meaning.

There is also the complex question of cultural and stylistic nuance. Through the centuries, calligraphic traditions and schools evolved in China. A connoisseur is able to look at the work of a particular calligrapher, trace the sources of his style, and at the same time recognize his unique contributions. The subtleties of stylistic and historical nuance enable calligraphers to imply much more than they state explicitly. On occasion calligraphers have selected well-known poems and essays, or even calligraphic styles, because the texts' historical or political associations convey subtle implications to an informed viewer.

Quality in calligraphy is not judged simply on the basis of the calligrapher's ability to copy the styles of the great masters. Throughout history that ability has marked only the beginning of a student's training. Matters of brush control and of compositional balance have been important, to be sure. Yet, greater emphasis has been placed on a calligrapher's ability to interpret early styles and traditions and imbue them with personal characteristics that result in new and exciting forms. Fundamental rules concerning stroke order, arrangement of written columns, use of a writing brush, and the like defined the basic structure within which the art form developed. The greatest Chinese masters have been immortalized because of their ability to work within the basic structure and yet transcend the conventions that guide formal considerations and to achieve a statement that is their own.

The history of calligraphy in China spans a period of more than three thousand years. One of the most remarkable aspects of that long history is that all of the basic script-forms were fully evolved as early as the fourth century A.D. During the initial phase—from the Shang (ca. 1523–1028 B.C.) to the Six Dynasties (221–581) periods—Chinese calligraphers gradually transformed the early pictograms into forms that could be written more simply and quickly. The successive changes in forms, as well as in technique,

reflect a high degree of creativity in exploiting the flexibility of the traditional Chinese writing brush.

In spite of the rules governing individual script-forms, Chinese calligraphy has been marked by an extraordinary diversity that continues to the present day. The diversity results, in part, from the Chinese reverence for past achievements. Consequently, when one script-form gave way to another in the passage of time, the older type was not abandoned or forgotten. Rather, the earlier script survived to become an integral part of a rich cultural legacy, where it remained to influence or inspire students and scholars. On the basis of their formality and ritual connotations, some archaic script-forms were selected to serve commemorative or dedicatory functions. In the hands of later masters, archaic script-forms frequently emerge in a slightly transformed guise to enjoy a revival and, ultimately, to provide yet another refinement to China's cultural heritage.

The earliest Chinese archaic characters, *jiaguwen*, appear on oracle bones that were used for divination during the late Shang dynasty. Although different styles are clearly recognizable, the outstanding feature of Chinese oracle-bone inscriptions is the appearance of pointed forms that result from the meticulous way in which the characters were first written and then carved into the unyielding bone or shell. The size of the individual characters varies, depending upon their complexity.

In bronze inscriptions (see cat. no. 1), the large seal script, *dazhuan*, which for a time existed simultaneously with the oracle-bone script, went through a gradual codification during the Shang and Zhou (ca. 1027–221 B.C.) dynasties with increasing conformity in the size of the characters and the arrangement of the columns. Regional styles in bronze inscriptions occur throughout the Shang and Zhou periods. Uniformity was fully achieved during the Qin dynasty (221–207 B.C.) in the small seal script, *xiaozhuan* (see cat. nos. 10 and 19), which was, according to tradition, the achievement of Li Si (died 208 B.C.).

Clerical script, *lishu*, which developed from small seal script, reached its height during the Eastern Han dynasty (25–220). Written in ink on bamboo and wooden slips (see cat. no. 2) and engraved on stone stelae (see cat. no. 18), many examples of clerical script have been unearthed during the past few years, thereby enriching our knowledge of the stylistic sequences. The main differences between clerical script and the earlier monumental script-forms are related to brushwork and structure. The even pressure and unwavering strokes that are typical of both the large and small seal scripts were replaced by modulated strokes, while curving forms supplanted the earlier, prevailing emphasis on straight and angular lines. These innovations mark the beginning of a full exploitation of the brush's potential for expressive movement and articulated form. They also represent a major turning point in the evolution

of Chinese calligraphy, since clerical script led directly to the modern forms.

In their persistent search for greater fluency, Chinese calligraphers soon replaced the exacting clerical script with a new, more pliant script-form known as standard or regular script, *kaishu*. Although the earliest form of standard script appeared as early as the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220), it was not until the Sui (581–618) and early Tang (618–907) periods that standard script was fully evolved, with portions of individual characters being linked and the horizontal and vertical strokes subtly counterpoised (see cat. nos. 3, 5, 6, 15, and 16). Even in the hands of a master calligrapher, the linear precision and structural balance of this script continues to be the most demanding of all Chinese script-forms. For this reason, students usually begin by practicing the work of the great Tang masters.

The new freedom and informality inherent in semicursive script, *xingshu*, owe their beginnings to the innovations in clerical script. Yet, those features should also be seen as a simplification of the contemporaneous standard script. The structural flexibility of both semicursive and standard scripts presented calligraphers with a potential for personal expression that was quickly realized (see cat. nos. 4, 9, 11, 12, and 14).

Many of the formal and technical changes seen in semicursive and standard scripts are borrowed from the earliest forms of cursive script, *caoshu*. Although there are differing traditional theories about the origins of cursive script, recent archaeological evidence supports a date as early as the Qin and Western Han (206 B.C.–A.D. 24) periods. As calligraphers evolved more practical modes of writing, they introduced many simplified forms and new symbols that enabled them to express concepts more quickly, even eliminating some strokes altogether (see cat. nos. 7, 8, 13, and 17).

Once established, the new script-forms remained an unending source of inspiration for later calligraphers. The creativity of the Chinese masters is shown in their repeated ability to imbue the forms with an individuality and freshness that are as original today as they were more than fifteen hundred years ago. The unswerving emphasis in China upon copying traditional models made it inevitable that the achievements of each generation would be influenced by the contributions of the great masters of the past. Still-greater emphasis was always placed upon the calligrapher's ability to infuse the early styles and traditions with new, deeply personal interpretations. Thus, Chinese calligraphers through the centuries have succeeded in developing enduring personal styles which, in time, contribute additional details of form to a tradition that has endured for almost seven thousand years.

The selection of Chinese calligraphic works included in this exhibition is based on the theme of one of the panel discussions of the twenty-sixth International Congress for the History of Art—"The Written Word in Art and as Art"—which will examine the functional and artistic role of written words as art and as they are combined with other art forms.

All of the Chinese writings selected are, without question, works of art and can be appreciated as such. At the same time, when these examples of Chinese calligraphy are examined within the broad context of China's cultural history, each one of the nineteen works exemplifies a particular aspect of Chinese calligraphy. The works can be grouped into three categories:

1. *Functional writings*, such as ceremonial bronze inscriptions (cat. no. 1); documents on wooden tablets (cat. no. 2); Buddhist (cat. no. 3) and Daoist (cat. no. 6) sutras; and personal letters (cat. no. 12). The writers can be described as preselected specialists in that their emphasis was on matters other than a purely aesthetic achievement. Although there is a vast range of quality in the calligraphy found on records and messages, the items that were regarded as collectable by Chinese connoisseurs are always the work of talented and trained master calligraphers. There is no question, therefore, that the overriding concerns in judging the calligraphy have been talent, creativity, and aesthetic subtlety.

2. *Inscriptions on or for paintings and calligraphy*, such as frontispieces (cat. nos. 10 and 19); texts for illustrations (cat. nos. 4 and 9); painters' self-inscriptions (cat. no. 7); and colophons by connoisseurs or collectors (cat. nos. 5, 8, 9, and 16). In many instances, the informative comments or appraisals in the writings can be extremely important in understanding the specific work of art. In this limited sense, the writings might be regarded as functional. The calligraphy was, nevertheless, written either directly on the same surface as the work of art itself, or as part of the sequence of statements about the object by outstanding calligraphers. The circumstances, so unequivocally competitive, motivated Chinese calligraphers toward their finest performances. Given the calligraphers' keen awareness of how discerning the Chinese critics could be, it is understandable that in most cases only fully trained calligraphers felt confident enough to write inscriptions or colophons directly on a painting or work of calligraphy.

3. *Writings as calligraphic art*, such as copies of model calligraphy (cat. no. 11) or a stele inscription (cat. no. 18); and transcriptions of famous texts of the past (cat. no. 13) or the calligrapher's own writing (cat. nos. 14–17). Since the art of calligraphy is also the art of written characters, the form of the script is inseparable from the meaning of the chosen characters. The specific text may or may not have any effect on the calligrapher's mood while he or she is writing. But when a viewer is appreciating or a critic is appraising a work, their judgments should be made solely on the quality of the calligraphy itself. To repeat, an exceptional poem does not increase the quality of the calligraphy.

Although the selection for this exhibition does not cover every type of calligraphic work in Chinese art, all the works can be classified into the three categories outlined above.

I *Inscription on Bronze Fangyi*

large seal script

anonymous historiographer

China, early Western Zhou dynasty; 11th to 10th century B.C.

cast bronze

height 17.5 cm (6⁷/₈ in); width 16 cm (6⁵/₁₆ in)

30.54

Ceremonial bronze inscriptions varied considerably in length. During the Shang dynasty (ca. 1523–1028 B.C.) most bronze inscriptions were short, terse records indicating the name of the clan, the person who commissioned the vessel, or the ancestor for whom it was made. By contrast, some Western Zhou (eleventh through eighth centuries B.C.) bronze inscriptions are imposing narrative compositions comprising several hundred characters. These are mainly records of ceremonial events, royal rewards, and investitures, and accounts of military campaigns or treaties.

Chinese bronze inscriptions, which continued to be cast and later engraved, span a period of more than one thousand years. The script is rich in variety, reflecting a long evolution constantly modified and enlivened by regional and stylistic changes. Although Chinese bronze inscriptions were functional, the individual characters and overall compositions were designed by master historiographers; each inscription provides a useful model for modern calligraphers.

This bronze inscription from a Freer vessel contains thirteen vertical columns plus the name (unrecognized) of the historiographer. Most of the strokes making up the characters have pointed beginnings and endings. There are occasionally squarish, nail-like starting points on the left for some horizontal strokes; each resembling a chisel, they are similar in shape to the cuneiform script of ancient Iran.

The sharp, straight strokes and angular corners of the characters are idiosyncrasies inherited from the incised oracle-bone script. But, since bronze inscriptions were cast, the technique imposed no difficulty in preserving the round, smooth turns and corners of the original handwritten characters. The curvilinear quality of bronze inscriptions became the major characteristic of the later seal script.

This relatively early bronze inscription on the Freer vessel displays above-average variation in the thickness and thinness of the strokes. Some strokes have fat tails, whereas other strokes or characters form a block; both the tail and the block forms were diminished in the later development of the seal script as the individual characters became more uniform. Moreover, the size

of each character in the Freer inscription varies.

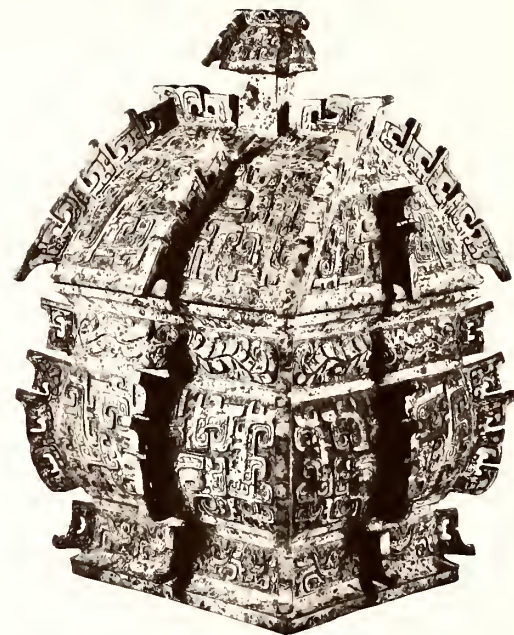
The inscription was cast inside, under the cover of the *fangyi*. A virtually identical version of the text is cast on the interior walls of the vessel. Though not particularly common, the *fangyi* (or square *yi*) is a well-known vessel type. The Freer *fangyi* is famous for its long inscription and elegant, neat calligraphy, and for the precise casting of the decoration on the exterior of the vessel.

Historical studies of this inscription have been published by many eminent scholars.¹ Most of the Chinese studies have been cited and analyzed by Chen Mengjia in his wide-ranging discussion of early Western Zhou bronzes.²

Through the studies by Chinese, Japanese, and Western historians and epigraphers, only about a half-dozen characters remain—among the total of 188 characters³—that have not been deciphered or for which no modern counterpart seems to exist. The general sense of the inscription and the historical events described are evident in the following excerpt:

On the jiashen day in the 8th month, the King commanded Ming Bao, son of the Duke of Zhou, to take charge of the three Ministries. . . . Duke Ming bestowed sacrificial wine, metal and a small ox. . . . Then he gave orders saying: "Now I command you . . . and Nie . . . to be colleagues, and also to serve with loyalty." The Annalist [Nie] presumes to extol the beneficence of his Chief Duke Ming by using [material presented by the Duke] to make . . . a precious sacral vessel which he ventures to beg Duke Ming to offer . . . for the glory of Father Ding. Recorded by X.⁴

Although there has been a lively controversy in regard to the precise dating of the Freer vessel, it is generally agreed that the bronze was cast within the reign of either Cheng Wang or Zhao Wang of the early Western Zhou dynasty. The *fangyi* was said to be unearthed at Loyang in Henan Province in 1929.⁵ Loyang was the site of the new Zhou capital established soon after the conquest. According to tradition, many of the artisans who worked in bronze were moved to the new Zhou capital from the Shang metropolitan foundries at Anyang.



fangyi, 30.54

The unusually high quality of the Freer bronze and its inscription stylistically reflects the outstanding achievements of the early Western Zhou period.

1. What is probably the first discussion of the inscription in the Freer *fangyi* was published by Luo Zhenyu in 1929, the year the vessel is believed to have been found. See "Nieyi kaoshi," *Shinagaku* 5, no. 3 (October 1929): 155–60. Archibald G. Wenley's discussion of the inscription in 1946 remains the standard English presentation of the text. See *A Descriptive and Illustrative Catalogue of Chinese Bronzes Acquired during the Administration of John Ellerton Lodge*, compiled by the staff of the Freer Gallery of Art [J. E. Lodge, A. G. Wenley, J. A. Pope]. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1946), pp. 42–47.

2. Chen Mengjia, "Xi Zhou tongqi duandai," *Kaogu xuebao* 10 (1955): 86–91.

3. The inscription cast on the interior walls consists of 188 characters. The inscription cast on the cover consists of 187 characters.

4. This portion of the text is based on the 1946 translation by Archibald G. Wenley. See note 1 above.

5. Among the bronzes said to have been unearthed together near Loyang in 1929 is a *fangcun* bearing the same inscription. The *fangcun* is now in the collection of the National Palace Museum, Taiwan. See *Gugong tongqi tulu* 1 (1958): 142, and 2 (1958): 209.

References: Lothar Ledderose, *Die Siegelschrift (Chuan-shu) in der Chi'ing-Zeit* (Weisbaden: F. Steiner, 1970); John Alexander Pope et al., *The Freer Chinese Bronzes*, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1967), pp. 212–20.

拜八月初十王...
 月三...
 乃...
 吉...
 三...
 月...
 成...
 牲...
 王...
 全...
 眾...
 考...
 考...

2 Documents on Wooden Tablets

clerical script

anonymous

China, Han dynasty; A dated 42 B.C., B–D ca. mid-1st century B.C.

four tablets; ink on wood

lengths from 18.7 to 23.5 cm (7³/₈ to 9¹/₄ in)

Gift of John M. Crawford, Jr.

81.4a,b,c,d

Before paper had been invented (second century A.D.) and became widely available in China, books, documents, and correspondence were written on bamboo and wooden tablets. Most of the writings done for the old Chinese texts still preserved today are of professional quality. The quality of the script seen in the documents written on the tablets, however, is uneven. One reason is that the classics and miscellaneous traditional texts were written by trained calligraphers, whereas the vast quantity of documents were written by people who, though literate, had uneven levels of artistic talent and calligraphic and educational training. But the best writings on bamboo and wooden tablets still serve as models for today's students. Especially exciting for calligraphers is the tablet's large variety of brushwork. Such variety appeared in calligraphy for the first time during this early phase in the history of Chinese calligraphy, and was to remain a compelling aspect during all later periods. The bamboo and wooden slips have provided exciting material for nineteenth- and twentieth-century Chinese scholar-calligraphers, whose models for earlier generations were rubbings of carved stone inscriptions.

The illustration of the Freer tablets shows, from left to right, tablets D, C, B, and A. The widest of the four tablets (A) contains five columns of calligraphy in the upper portion and a date corresponding to 42 B.C. The calligraphy is written in semicursive script with special accents on plump horizontal and right diagonal strokes, creating a more interesting overall composition than is found on the other three tablets. The script on tablet B is the most regular and skillful, being close to the formal writing found carved on stone stelae of the period. The calligraphic characters on tablet C are especially loosely structured. Tablet D, which preserves the clearest writing, is not complete; the remaining strokes along both of its edges suggest that it originally must have been a much wider tablet. Only tablet D bears writing on the reverse side.

The different widths of the tablets and the variations in the scripts as well as in the hands, suggest that the four tablets do not constitute a single group and may vary in

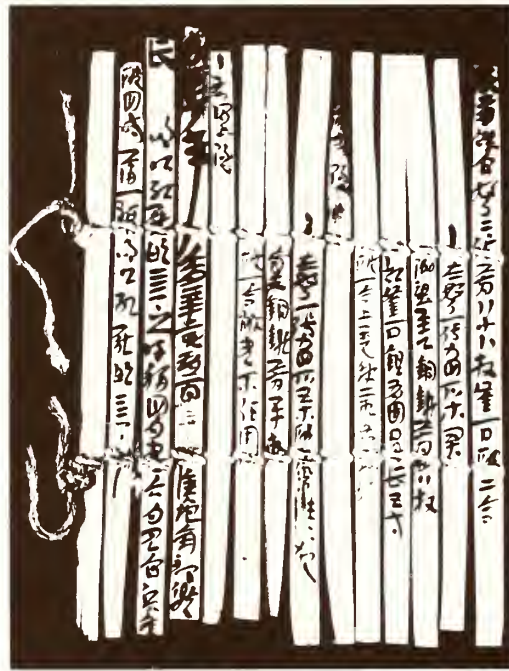


Fig. 1. A group of Han-dynasty wooden tablets bound with hemp threads in the traditional manner. Academia Sinica, Taipei.

date. The three undated tablets (B,C,D), however, may also be stylistically dated around the mid-first century B.C.

Bamboo tablets dating from the Warring States (480–222 B.C.) and the Qin (221–207 B.C.) periods have been discovered mainly in southern China along the Yangzi River. Wooden tablets dating from the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220) or later (see fig. 1) have been unearthed almost exclusively from the northwestern regions of China. The geographic distribution of the tablets is based on the easy availability of bamboo or wood from the different regions.

The largest single collection and major group of wooden tablets was unearthed in 1930 in the Juyen region, located northwest of Dunhuang, Gansu Province, in a city established around 104 B.C. A large number of those tablets are dated between 102 B.C. and A.D. 30. The texts consist primarily of official dispatches to garrisons in the frontier outposts, documents and registers, letters, and the like.¹

According to the inscription by the connoisseur-collector Zhang Heng (*zi* Congyu, 1914–1963), written inside the box

for this set of tablets, the Freer tablets are from Juyen. Although there is no way to prove Zhang Heng's statement, comparison of the Freer tablets with the large quantity from Juyen reveals that their characteristics are remarkably similar, both physically and calligraphically. The quality of the calligraphy on the four Freer tablets is considerably above average, with the characters on tablet B being exceptional.

1. Lao Gan, *Juyan Hanjien kaoshi*, 6 vols. (Chungking, 1943–44).

References: Ezekiel Schloss, *Art of the Han* (New York: China Institute in America, 1979), p. 24; Tseng 1971, entry 6.

Vertical wooden slip with inscriptions in seal script. The text is arranged in two columns, with the right column containing characters such as 永, 之, 三, 月, 三, 和, 甲, 子, 夫, 人, 逐, 付, 事, 拆, 求, 舒, 大, 成, 如.

Vertical wooden slip with inscriptions in seal script. The text is arranged in two columns, with the right column containing characters such as 永, 之, 三, 月, 三, 和, 甲, 子, 夫, 人, 逐, 付, 事, 拆, 求, 舒, 大, 成, 如.

Vertical wooden slip with inscriptions in seal script. The text is arranged in two columns, with the right column containing characters such as 永, 之, 三, 月, 三, 和, 甲, 子, 夫, 人, 逐, 付, 事, 拆, 求, 舒, 大, 成, 如.

Vertical wooden slip with inscriptions in seal script. The text is arranged in two columns, with the right column containing characters such as 永, 之, 三, 月, 三, 和, 甲, 子, 夫, 人, 逐, 付, 事, 拆, 求, 舒, 大, 成, 如.

3 The Buddhist Sutra of the Great Demise (*The Mahāparinirvāṇa Sutra*)

standard script
anonymous
China, Sui dynasty (581–618)
handscroll; ink on paper
height 21.1 cm (8¹/₁₆ in); length 380.6 cm (149⁷/₈ in)
82.2

Both Buddhist and Daoist sutras were held by believers when they chanted or recited during religious ceremonies or individual contemplations. While the sutras are regarded as functional writings, those examples that were particularly well written were always preferred by educated Chinese monks and laypeople.

When Buddhist sutras were translated from the original Sanskrit into Chinese, the sacred texts were usually transcribed by anonymous professional calligraphers. Nonetheless, most of the Chinese Buddhist sutras dating from the Tang dynasty (618–907) or earlier are extremely well written. Their calligraphy is highly professional and polished.

Figure 2 shows a partially unrolled section of a typically long horizontal sutra scroll. Here and in the Freer scroll of *The Buddhist Sutra of the Great Demise*, the individual characters are precisely written within vertical grid lines. Using a sharp and resilient brush, the calligrapher of the Freer scroll applied full energy and concentration in writing each stroke and composing each character. Although the sutra is in standard script, the individual characters are not written mechanically. There are variations in the pressure of the brush, in the speed with which the calligrapher wrote, and in the size and form of the characters. The square corners of the characters are structurally sturdy, and the round turns are smooth and springy. The left diagonals sweep like swords; those moving toward the right are as sturdy as heavy blades; the verticals are as straight and strong as pillars. Yet, all of the strokes are vividly written; each one has its own rhythm. Every character is a distinct composition, possessing its own manner and gravity. In addition, the special relationships between the characters enrich the total aesthetic effect. These subtle nuances constitute the major difference between a well-written sutra and a standard printed version.

Since most sutra scrolls were written by anonymous professional calligraphers, those that bear signed names are relatively absent from calligraphic history. But advanced sutra transcribers were just as competent as recognized calligraphers, and some were technically more skillful. Their competence was recognized by famous Chinese calligraphers of the later periods who realized how difficult it was to achieve such technical

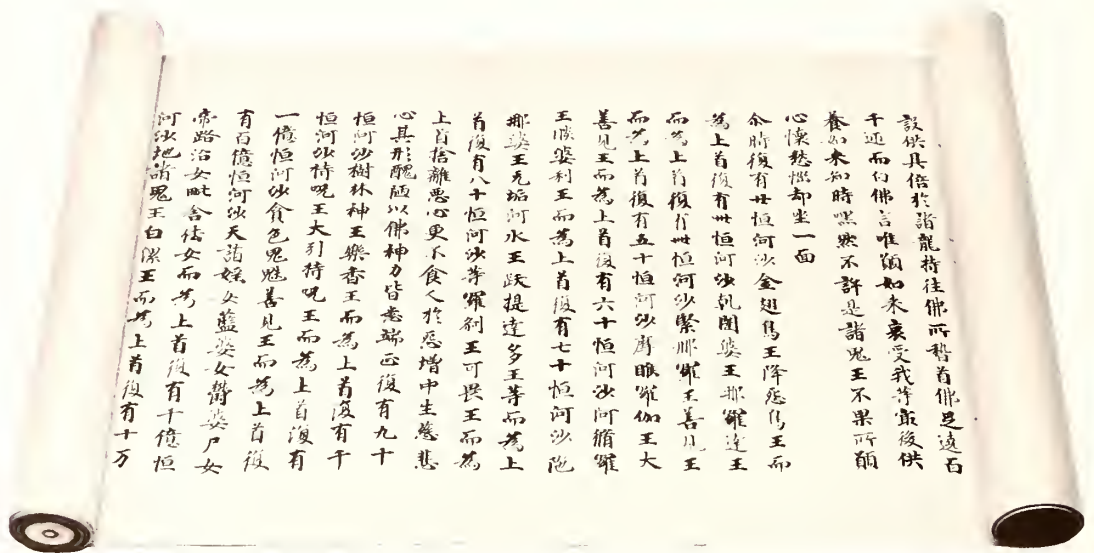


Fig. 2. Partially unrolled sutra scroll from the Tang dynasty. Private collection

perfection, especially when they themselves failed to imitate successfully the sutra styles.

On the other hand, most of the professional Chinese calligraphers who transcribed sutras may have been more conservative and less artistic than the recognized calligraphers. The transcribers, who could have been either learned monks or lay intellectuals, were commissioned by Buddhist parishioners, whose aim was to donate the sutras to temples.

The Buddhist Sutra of the Great Demise is commonly called *The Mahāparinirvāṇa Sutra*. It preserves the words said to have been delivered by the Buddha Sakyamuni just before his death. The sutra was translated into Chinese by Chinese monks during the fourth century. As is the case with most handwritten sutras, this scroll was neither signed nor dated. Consequently, the only means of dating the work is through stylistic comparison to dated scrolls of the same category. In general, the Freer sutra corresponds to those examples from the period between the late Sui and early Tang dynasties, roughly falling into the first half of the seventh century.

At the beginning of the Freer a collector's seal indicates that a Mr. Xu Chunfu obtained the sutra while he was traveling to Gansu Province. At the turn of the twentieth century, a great number of sutra scrolls were discovered by a Chinese monk at Dunhuang in a cave that had been sealed since the mid-eleventh century. The English scholar Sir Aurel Stein obtained a large portion of the material from the

cave and brought it to the attention of specialists throughout the world. Many of the Dunhuang scrolls are now preserved in the British Museum in London, the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and the National Library in Peking. The Freer sutra is one of the scrolls that must have come from the cave at Dunhuang and then circulated in private hands. Although it has been almost thirteen centuries since the scroll was written, the paper is still in impressive condition, because it had been treated with a yellowish liquid prepared from the seeds and bark of the Amur cork tree for protection against damage by insects. The scroll is not in its original unmounted format. At some time in its recent history, the sutra was mounted as a traditional Chinese scroll, with a silk border and backing paper.

The Freer scroll is one of the best-written sutras of its kind. It enables us to visualize the calligraphic style of a period from which there are otherwise so few extant original handwritten works by great masters.

References: Roderick Whitfield, *The Art of Central Asia: The Stein Collection in the British Museum*, 3 vols. (Tokyo, 1982–84); 14, 15, *Bannières et peintures de Touen-houang conservées au Musée Guimet*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1974, 1976); *Mission Paul Pelliot 13, Tissus de Touen-houang conservés au Musée Guimet et à la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1970); Lionel Giles, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Chinese Manuscripts from Tunhuang in the British Museum* (London, 1957); Xie Zhiliu, *Dunhuang yishu xulu* (Shanghai, 1955); Matsumoto Eiichi, *Tonkōga no kenkyū*, 2 vols. (Tokyo, 1937); Paul Pelliot, *Les Grottes de Touen-houang* (Paris, 1921–24).

大般涅槃經迦葉菩薩品第三

迦葉菩薩白佛言世尊如來憐愍一切衆生
不調能調不淨能淨无歸依者能作歸依未
解脫者能令解脫得八自在為大醫師作大
藥王善星比丘是佛菩薩時子出家之後受
持讀誦分別解說十二部經壞欲界結獲得
四禪云何如來記說善星是一闡提斯下之
人地獄劫住不可治人如來何故不先為其
廣說正法後為菩薩如來世尊若不能救善

4 “Returning to Seclusion,” A Prose-Poem by Tao Qian

semicursive script
 calligraphy by Li Peng (ca. 1060–ca. 1110)
 China, Song dynasty; inscription dated 1110
 handscroll; ink on silk
 height 37 cm (14³/₁₆ in); length 518.5 cm (204³/₁₆ in)
 19.119

This Freer handscroll is an outstanding example of a calligraphic transcription of an early text made to accompany an illustration. One of the earliest and most famous examples of this format combining calligraphy and painting is the “Admonitions of the Court Instructress” attributed to Gu Kaizhi (341–402), now in the British Museum. On some scrolls of this type, the painting and calligraphy are by the same artist; on other examples, the work of two artists is combined. In the case of “Returning to Seclusion,” an early twelfth-century artist working in the style of Li Gonglin (1049–1106) painted the individual sections to illustrate the well-known prose-poem by the poet Tao Qian (365–427).

The anonymous artist painted the main scene from each passage, leaving a space between each scene for the transcription of the text. Li Peng later transcribed the appropriate passages from the prose-poem. The alternation between calligraphy and illustration not only creates an interesting momentum and frame, but also allows for the figure of the poet to appear repeatedly in different settings. At the end (far left) of the Freer scroll, Li Peng also added a postinscription in which he recorded his appreciation of the painting, and the circumstances, the date, and the name of the person for whom he had written the inscription.

Passages of Li’s calligraphy in different lengths enframe the painted sections. The calligraphy of the main text is written in semistandard script, whereas the ten-line postinscription is in semicursive script. The brushwork is relatively plump and the structure of the characters is elongated and graceful. Li Peng modulated the pressure on his brush within a single stroke. He grace-

fully raised the brush tip and then pressed it down from time to time so that the gentle strokes vary from thin to thick, and vice versa. The plump strokes remind us of the brushwork of Su Shi (1036–1101), but the structure of the characters recalls the calligraphy of Mi Fu (1053–1107).¹

The text is one of the most famous prose-poems composed by the great poet Tao Qian of the Eastern Jin dynasty (317–420). In the year 406, after serving as magistrate of Pengze in Jiangxi Province for eighty days, Tao Qian retired from public office because he did not want to submit to the orders of his superior officer, whom he did not respect. He then returned home. This prose-poem is a moving record of Tao Qian’s thoughts and emotions on his return, his sense of release from the petty frustrations of official life, and the joys of the pastoral life of the cultivated scholar-recluse. Beloved by every literate Chinese, the poem has been used by innumerable painters and calligraphers throughout the succeeding centuries.²

Excerpts from Tao Qian’s prose-poem provide a glimpse of his sensibility:

*Homewards I bend my steps,
 My fields, my gardens are choked with weeds:
 should I not go? . . .
 I will devote my energies to the future. . . .
 Lightly, lightly, speeds my boat along,
 My garments fluttering to the gentle breeze. . . .
 From afar I descry my old home, and joyfully
 press onwards in my haste.
 The servants rush forth to meet me,
 My children cluster at the gate.
 The place is a wilderness; but there is the old
 pine tree, and my chrysanthemums. . . .
 Wine is brought in full bottles,
 I pour out in brimming cups. . . .*

*I take my pleasure in my garden.
 There is a gate, but it is rarely opened. . . .
 Cheering my idle hours with lute and book. . . .
 When springtime is nigh, there will be work in
 the furrowed fields. . . .
 Ah, how short a time it is that we are here!
 Why then not set our hearts at rest, ceasing to
 trouble whether we remain or go? . . .
 I will mount the hill and sing my song,
 I will weave my verse beside the limpid brook.
 Thus will I work out my allotted span, content
 with the appointments of Fate,
 My spirit free from care.³*

The calligrapher Li Peng, also known as Li Shanglao, was a native of Jiangxi Province. He was the grandson of Li Chang (1027–1090), who was the uncle of the leading Song-dynasty calligrapher-poet Huang Tingjian (1050–1110). It was natural, therefore, that in poetry Li Peng was a member of the Jiangxi school, which was led by Huang Tingjian. According to Li’s own statement, his calligraphic models were Wang Xizhi (ca. 303–ca. 361), Yen Zhenqing (709–785), Liu Gongquan (778–865), and Yang Ningshi (873–954). Li Peng gained fame as a calligrapher, and his works were treasured by contemporary collectors. His extant works are rare, and the inscriptions, dated 1110, on the Freer scroll provide an important dated calligraphic work of the late Northern Song period (960–1127).

1. See Ledderose 1979.

2. Lawton 1973, pp. 38–41.

3. Herbert A. Giles, *Gems of Chinese Literature* (London: Kelley and Walsh, 1923), pp. 103–4. Reprint. New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 1965.

Reference: Fu and Nakata 1981–83, vol. 1, pls. 80–83, p. 143.



detail

去來兮田園將無胡不
惆悵而獨悲悟已往之不諫知來者之可追寔迷在
其未遠覺今是而昨非舟遙遙以輕颺風飄飄
吹衣問征夫以前路恨且
載欣載奔僮僕歡呼稚子候
猶存

去來兮請息交以絕遊世與我而相遺復駕
馬求悅親戚之情話樂琴書以消憂農人生
可以暮春將有事乎西疇

去來兮
三月五日山南李勣高士書

5 Colophon to Wang Xienzhi's "Epitaph for My Wet-Nurse"

standard script

by Guo Tienxi (ca. 1235–ca. 1302)

China, Yuan dynasty; dated 1292

handscroll; ink on paper

height 30 cm (11¹³/₁₆ in); length 39.3 cm (15¹/₂ in)

80.7—

Wang Xienzhi (344–386) and his father, Wang Xizhi (ca. 303–ca. 361), known as the “two Wangs,” are traditionally regarded as the founders of the orthodox school of Chinese calligraphy. The two men have exerted greater influence on the history of Chinese calligraphy than have any other masters. Their exalted status is all the more remarkable considering that no original examples of their works are extant. All that is known of their calligraphy is based on rubbings made from stone stelae and from copies made by later masters. Consequently, there are varying opinions regarding the authenticity of all the works attributed to Wang Xienzhi and his father.¹

The *Baomuzhi*, or epitaph written by Wang Xienzhi for the woman who had been his wet-nurse, was carved on the funerary tablet placed in the woman's tomb. According to the text, the wet-nurse, Miss Li Yiru, was unusual in that she excelled in composing essays and wrote cursive script. Wang Xienzhi wrote the epitaph for her in A.D. 379, when he was about thirty-five years old.

When the funerary tablet was accidentally unearthed in Zhejiang Province in 1203, it became the subject of great discussion in scholarly circles. Opinions varied as to whether it was a genuine work or whether it was from the hand of a later calligrapher.

The rubbing of the “Epitaph,” mounted at the beginning (far right) of the Freer handscroll, is the only surviving version of the *Baomuzhi*. The colophons (see discussion, cat. no. 8) by some of China's most famous collectors add to its importance. The colophon by Guo Tienxi, mounted on the left of the handscroll, is one of the examples that was highly regarded by later connoisseurs and collectors even though it is not an impressive piece of calligraphy.

The colophon's semistandard script, squat in its structure, was written without haste. In beginning the horizontal brush strokes, Guo Tienxi has revealed the sharp tip of his brush; he has also completely accented the endings of his strokes. Only an occasional emphatic hook detracts from the brushwork. The columns of calligraphy are spacious and neat.

Guo Tienxi's fame is based upon his accomplishments as a collector and connoisseur of ancient calligraphic works. His colophon on the Freer handscroll is impor-

tant for its content. Guo states that in 1289 he acquired the rubbing of “Epitaph for My Wet-Nurse” from the great calligrapher Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322; see cat. no. 6), whose transcription of the *Baomuzhi* and colophon (dated 1309) appear on the handscroll. When Guo Tienxi visited Hangzhou, he compared the rubbing to other versions. Although the rubbing he obtained from Zhao Mengfu was different from the other versions, it was difficult for Guo to dispute its authenticity, since no original examples of Wang Xienzhi's calligraphy were extant. Guo Tienxi loved the characters in this work and copied them for three years, but not a single character resembled that of his model. It is said that he sighed in resignation, realizing that it was truly difficult to reach the realm of the ancient masters. Guo Tienxi dated his colophon in 1292, after adding a poem in seven-character meter:

The treasured Lanting preface [originally written by Wang Xizhi] was engraved on a jade stone,

Accordingly it was based on the original and copied by Ouyang Xun.

But the problem of original and forgery remained until now.

How can it be compared with this work which was personally written and engraved by Wang [Xienzhi]!

The “Epitaph for My Wet-Nurse” was directly transmitted from more than eight hundred years ago.

The brushwork of [Wang] Xienzhi is very similar to that of [his father, Wang] Xizhi.

The chipped and broken stele left us some hundred characters,

It should be respectfully taken as the teacher by Ou [-yang Xun] and Yen [Zhenqing] for a thousand generations.

In Guo Tienxi's colophon, he records the date and origin of the rubbing. He also describes his comparative study of the other versions and of Wang Xizhi's Lanting preface (see cat. no. 11), and he presents his own evaluation of the work. The text is composed in both prose and poem form. In its scope and content Guo Tienxi's inscription represents a typical colophon by a scholar-collector-connoisseur.

Guo Tienxi was a native of Datong in Shanxi Province, but he held an official post



Song-dynasty rubbing of “Epitaph for My Wet-Nurse”; ink on paper

at Zhenjiang in Jiangsu Province. He had close contacts, therefore, with the circle of collector-connoisseurs in the Jiangnan region. Aside from Zhao Mengfu, who lived nearby and with whom Guo Tienxi could exchange collections, he knew the renowned connoisseur Zhou Mi (1232–1298), who recorded some of Guo's collections in his extant texts.² Guo's colophons mainly appear on important calligraphic works of the Tang (618–907) and Song (960–1279) periods.

1. The most recent discussion of Wang Xizhi's calligraphy was prompted by the publication of an article by Guo Moruo, “Yu Wang Zie mu zhide chutu lundao Lanting xu de jenwei,” *Wenwu*, no. 6 (1965): 1–24. So many differing points of view were forthcoming that most of the pertinent writings were assembled in a special publication, *Lanting houbien*, Peking, 1973.

2. Zhou Mi, *Yunyan guoyan lu, zhuan shang*, pp. 46–49. Yishu zongbien edition.

References: Fu and Nakata 1981–83, vol. 1, pl. 10, pp. 131–33; Fu 1977; *Shodō geijitsu, Wang Xiji, Wang Xienzhi* (Tokyo, 1976); *Ō Gishi* (Tokyo, 1974); Nakata Yūjirō, *Ō Gishi o chūsin to suru hōjō no kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1970); *Gugong fashu*, vol. 5 (Taipei, 1962); *Dung Jin* (1960), vol. 4 of *Shodō zenshū*.

右晉太宰中書令王獻之字子敬書保母帖
至元己丑九月獲于趙六部子昂及來杭
與別本較之大不同然未易與口舌爭深
曉王氏書者迺能知之予愛帖中氏字於
字石字于字臨學三年無一字似者古人
真難到耶壬辰長至日易跋

蘭亭貴重玉石刻云是率更脫真蹟
至今真贋亂紛紛爭似王書親入石八
百餘年保母辭獻之筆法似羲之斷
碑剝落百餘字高作歐顏千世師

金城郭天錫審定秘玩

6 *The Daoist Sutra of Constant Purity and Tranquility*

small standard script
by Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322)
China, Yuan dynasty; ca. 1292
handscroll; ink on silk
height 29 cm (11½ in); length 58 cm (22⅞ in)
80.8a

At its inception, the native Chinese religion of Daoism was the main belief among intellectuals. Many of the Daoist sutras were transcribed by scholar-believers who were also outstanding calligraphers. The tradition of transcribing the sutras continued in this manner through the Qing dynasty (1644–1911).

When a devout scholar-calligrapher transcribed a sutra, he used the text itself as a source of contemplation. The calligraphers were not transcribing the texts purely for money, nor were they writing them solely for their religious content, to be appreciated by ordinary believers. Rather, they intended the precisely written sutras to be gifts for their peers. Both the calligraphers and the recipients considered the transcribing of Daoist sutras to be a rigorous artistic exercise and an expression of the calligrapher's appreciation of calligraphy as art.

Written in small standard script, the characters in this Daoist sutra have a calm and gentle appearance. The brush strokes are soft yet elastic, steady yet lively. The thin tips of the strokes reveal all of Zhao Mengfu's brush movements. The structure of the characters is broad, and each character generally has a base wider than its top. Zhao maintained generous spacing between the characters regardless of their placement within an individual column. Consequently, the total impression from this short handscroll is that it is airy, calm, and restful. Although the small standard script may not appear impressive at first glance, writing such characters is technically demanding, and examples of this type of calligraphy are highly prized by discriminating Chinese connoisseurs.

The sharp but soft brush tip and the thin and neat strokes evoke a clean and pure atmosphere in the mind of the viewer. The qualities of the calligraphy are very much in harmony with the content of the text, *The Daoist Sutra of Constant Purity and Tranquility*. The sutra is traditionally believed to have been transmitted orally for many generations from the mythical Daoist sage Laozi (act. sixth century B.C.) and to have been first transcribed by Ge Xuan during the Wu dynasty (222–80) of the Three Kingdoms period (220–65).

The text of the sutra expresses the idea that if one can constantly rid oneself of desire, the heart (mind) will be naturally tranquil; once the heart (mind) is clear, the spirit will naturally be purified. Further, one way to achieve the purified state is not to fight or contend. One who is enlightened (by this teaching) will reach the realm of constant purity and tranquility and will be protected by various sages and avoid calamity.

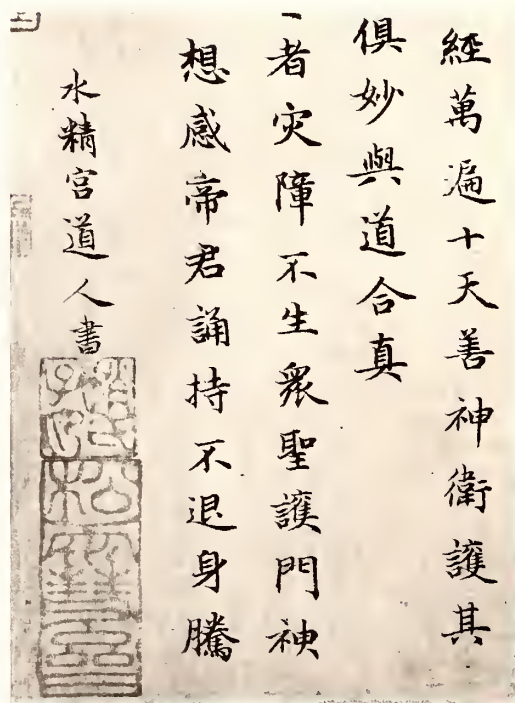
The signature at the end of the sutra is "Suijinggong daoren" (The Daoist of the Palace of Dragon King), a sobriquet of the famous scholar-official-calligrapher-painter Zhao Mengfu.

Born in Wuxing in Zhejiang Province, Zhao Mengfu was a descendant of the Song imperial family. He is also known by the names Ziang and Songxue. Between 1286 and 1295, Zhao Mengfu served the new Mongol rulers in the Hanlin Academy, and during his stay in the north was exposed to the great tradition of early calligraphy and to the painting of the Tang (618–907) and Northern Song (960–1127) dynasties. After developing his synthesis of past styles, Zhao advocated the influential movement called "revival of the past," which dominated all calligraphy and painting of the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368).

Zhao excelled in every script type. Although his semicursive and standard scripts are the most famous of his works, his contemporaries praised his small standard script as his best. The calligraphy in the Freer collection is not dated by the artist; it belongs stylistically to his early work, in the period around 1292, before he had established his own distinctly personal style.

Zhao wrote the sutra on silk instead of on paper, the more common writing material in China after the fourth century. He chose silk for this ancient sutra to give it an antique appearance. Although Zhao Mengfu was probably under forty when he created the sutra, the perfection he achieved by diligent practice was already difficult to equal. Moreover, the charm of the sutra, which one senses in its tenderness and freshness, is missing in most of his later works, and thus makes this scroll even more admirable.

References: Toyama Gunji, *Zhang Jizhi, Zhao Mengfu in Shodō geijitsu*, vol. 7; Chu-ting Li, "The Freer Sheep and Goat and Chao Meng-fu's Horse Paintings," *Artibus Asiae* 30, no. 4 (1968): 279–326; Chu-ting Li, *The Autumn Colors on the Ch'iao and Hua Mountains: A Landscape by Chao Meng-fu* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae Publishers, 1965).



detail showing Zhao Mengfu's signature and seals

太上老君說常清靜經

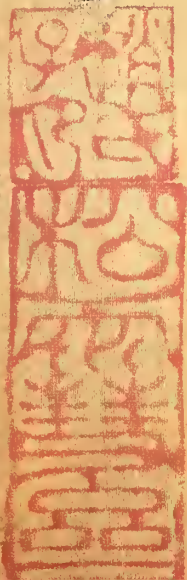
仙人葛玄曰吾得真道嘗誦此經萬遍此經是天人所習不傳
下士吾昔受之於東華帝君東華帝君受之於金闕帝君
金闕帝君受之於西王母皆口口相傳不記文字吾今於世書
而錄之上士悟之昇為天官中士悟之南宮列仙下士悟之在
世長年遊行三界昇入金門

左玄真人曰學道之士持誦此經萬遍十天善神衛護其
人玉符保身金液鍊形形神俱妙與道合真

正一真人曰家有此經悟解之者灾障不生衆聖護門裊
昇上界朝拜高尊功滿德就想感帝君誦持不退身騰

紫雲

水精宮道人書



7 Songs of Fishermen

cursive script
painting and calligraphy by Wu Zhen (1280–1354)
China, Yuan dynasty; inscription dated 1352
handscroll; ink on paper
height 32.5 cm (12¹/₁₆ in); length 562.2 cm. (221³/₈ in)
37.12

This long handscroll depicts lake scenery with a series of fishing boats, each of which contains a solitary figure. Wu Zhen inscribed a poem next to each fisherman and wrote one long colophon at the end of the scroll.

All of the calligraphy is small-size cursive script, with some occasional running (semicursive) script. Not many characters are linked together. Some of Wu Zhen's brush method is derived from the cursive script called *zhangcao*, based on the earlier clerical script, which was popular during the late Yuan period (1271–1368).

Wu Zhen generally followed the calligraphic style of the Tang master Huaisu (ca. 735–800), but he occasionally alternated characters written in heavy and thick brush strokes with those composed of light and thin strokes. In this way, he created a special rhythm and style of his own. Aside from Wu's achievements as a cursive calligrapher, his fame rests mainly on his accomplishments as one of the four great master painters of the late Yuan period. The other three masters were Huang Gongwang (1269–1354), Ni Zan (1301–1374), and Wang Meng (ca. 1301–1385). Wu exerted great influence on later artists, especially those of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644).

An inscription made by an artist on his own work is the more significant statement compared to an inscription added by another calligrapher. This type of self-inscription usually constitutes a more intimate and informative portion of a scroll.

The tradition of adding long inscriptions became popular among fourteenth-century Chinese scholar-painters, who also excelled in calligraphy. The inscriptions usually are composed in prose or poetic form although on occasion both forms are combined. Wu Zhen's self-inscription on his *Fishermen* scroll is an example that includes both prose and poetry.

Wu Zhen, a native of Jiaxing, Zhejiang

Province, never served the Mongol government in an official capacity. He made his living first as a Daoist diviner and later as a literatus painter. Because he insisted upon maintaining his own standards in painting, he remained unpopular during his lifetime.

Although it is important to have poems and self-inscriptions as integral parts of a scroll, the quality of their calligraphy can either enhance or detract from the total aesthetic response. Consequently, only the most outstanding Chinese scholar-painter-calligraphers had the confidence to add inscriptions directly onto their paintings.

According to Wu's inscription, dated in 1352, on the Freer scroll, he painted the composition ten years earlier than the inscription. The painting was inspired by a version of the same theme in Tang style by the tenth-century painter Jing Hao. Colophons on another version of the *Fishermen* scroll by Wu Zhen, in the collection of the Shanghai Museum, inform us that the composition was inspired by the eighth-century Tang Daoist poet-recluse-painter Zhang Zhiho, who is credited with having initiated *Songs of Fishermen*. Statements in both the Freer and the Shanghai colophons tell us that Wu Zhen composed the poems on the Freer scroll in the style of Zhang Zhiho.

Examination of the Freer painting reveals that among the fifteen fishermen, only three or four are seriously fishing. Most of the "fishermen" wear official hats, a symbol that they are actually fugitive bureaucrats. They are recluses who want only to be left alone; they seldom fish but instead drift along, enjoying the scenery or just napping. The poems written alongside the fishermen further reinforce this interpretation. A few examples, such as a poem written above a boat moored under the shade of a large tree, clearly express the prevailing mood. The poem may be translated as follows:

*The mountains are brightened by the reflection
from the sunset clouds,
The sky became cloudy or clear depending on the
appearance or disappearance of the clouds,
The wind blew, the waves rose;
Listening to the sound of rain in the night under
the empty straw covering.*

Another poem, on the left of the one just quoted, appears above the fisherman who is throwing out his fishing line:

*For no reasons that [I] fish at the middle of the
lake,
The fish is big, the boat is too light to stand it,
Worrying about turning over, tie the fish, the
boat moving up and down,
Everything should touch lightly and not get
involved too deeply.*

A final poem is written at the end of the lake scene:

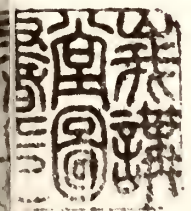
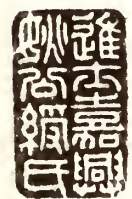
*When the waves of the five lakes float with the
petals of peach blossoms, it is the time of
spring,
My small boat floats as a leaf blown by the wind
to ten thousand miles away,
The fish line is too fine, the fragrant bait is
gone,
Ah! originally he is not a fisherman at all!*

Through the poems, we understand that Wu Zhen obviously was not trying solely to paint a portrait of the fisherman. His aim was to state that he was not a professional painter but was using poetry and painting as a form of refuge.

References: Fu and Nakata 1981–83, vol. 3, color plate 1, pls. 25–28, pp. 146–48; James F. Cahill, *Hills Beyond a River: Chinese Painting of the Yuan Dynasty, 1279–1368* (New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1976); James F. Cahill, "Wu Chen, A Chinese Landscapist and Bamboo Painter of the Fourteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1958).



予昔嘗聞合山水漁勸之者厚意而出于
 荆法草法何欠荆身唐人漁父田者
 如此製心通徹而有其一軸法者有之
 上以見之乃知物有無運時也百維中
 時此畫來有侯于呼昔之畫也
 殆十年年是法者易得些支至正十二
 年正月九日有甘苦梅之文
 予于畫



detail showing inscription dated 1352

8 Colophon to a Daoist Sutra by Zhao Mengfu

cursive script

by Kangli Naonao (1295–1345)

China, Yuan dynasty; dated 1344

handscroll; ink on paper

height 29 cm (11¹/₁₆ in); length 52.5 cm (20¹/₁₆ in)

80.8b

Although the text of this scroll is a Daoist sutra, it was calligraphed by Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322), an extraordinary calligrapher, and was thus ensured of being treated as a major work of art. Certainly this was the expectation expressed by the colophon writer Kangli Naonao, who was also a renowned calligrapher.

Kangli was a younger contemporary of Zhao's. After he had established his own reputation as a great calligrapher, he was asked to write a colophon on this scroll written by Zhao Mengfu, a person with whom Kangli shared fame and influence. Because he was the younger master, Kangli tried his best to compose and write the colophon in such a way that it could coexist side by side with the calligraphy of Zhao Mengfu and be compared favorably with it by generation after generation of critics. There is no doubt that Kangli Naonao wrote the colophon in the hope that it would be judged as a major example of his calligraphy.

A colophon is an inscription placed at the end of a book or manuscript, usually providing facts related to the content of the specific work. On Chinese handscrolls and

album leaves, colophons usually follow the painting or calligraphy and the artist's self-inscription. The content of the colophons ranges from comments relating to art appreciation, interpretation, art criticism, and provenance to the work's actual monetary value. The literary style of the colophons can vary, generally falling into the two large categories of prose and poetry.

Colophon writers have been contemporaries of the artist or calligrapher, as well as artists, scholars, connoisseurs, and collectors of later generations. Many early Chinese colophon writers were connoisseur-collectors, knowledgeable art lovers, and amateur artists. This particular colophon was written by an outstanding connoisseur-collector.

This colophon in fourteen lines was written in cursive script, interspersed with some characters in running (semicursive) script. With a single exception, in which two characters are linked together, all of the characters are written separately. Together with some of the characteristic knifelike, right-diagonal strokes, the work displays a type of cursive script, *zhangcao*, which was developed earlier than the regular cursive script.

The brushwork is clean, precise, and elegant, yet energetic. The curving strokes are smooth and flexible. In writing the characters, Kangli Naonao alternated between thin and thick strokes and shifted rhythmically from light to heavy. The structure of the characters is tight and narrow with a strong, right, upward slant.

In the first three columns, Kangli started slowly, using smooth semicursive script; then he increased his tempo and wrote in a more cursive style for the major portion of the colophon. When Kangli Naonao had completed the colophon, he returned to a slower tempo and added the date and his signature.

Kangli lived a generation later than Zhao Mengfu; in the colophon, he expresses his admiration for the older master, who had died in 1322, twenty-two years earlier. His colophon may be rendered as follows:

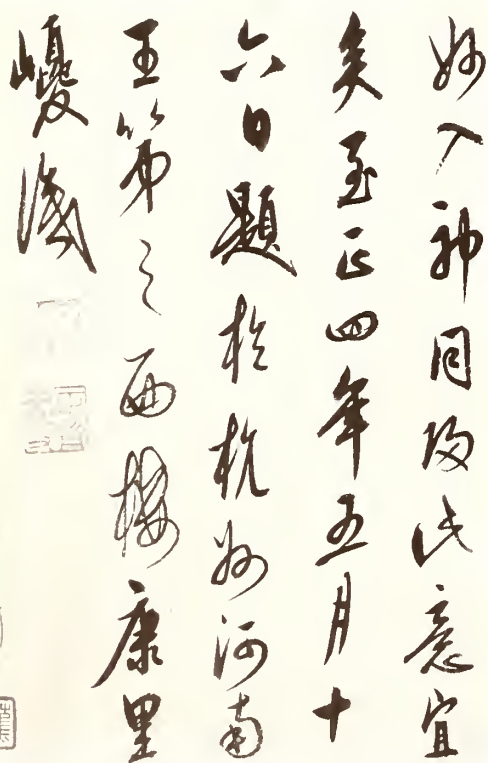
Mr. Zhao Wenmin [Mengfu] liked to write Daoist sutras which were scattered among many famous [temples in] mountains. This is one of them. Among the extant works by the master Wang Xizhi [ca. 303–ca. 361], only the

Huangting sutra is the best. Now I looked at the Sutra of Constant Purity and Tranquility written by Mr. Zhao, which is as airy as though being transformed into an immortal floating above the clouds. The senior [master, Zhao Mengfu] praised the brushwork of Wang Xizhi's Daoist sutra as refined and marvelous and meant for the divine class. It was really the same idea [in this work by Zhao Mengfu]. On the sixteenth day of the fifth month of the fourth year [1344] in the Zhizheng era [1341–68]. Written at the West pavilion of the mansion of the Duke Henan by Kangli Nao.

Kangli Nao (also known as Kangli Naonao and Kangli Zishan) was a high official of the Mongol government. During the Tianli period (1328–30) he supervised the imperial collection of painting and calligraphy. Kangli was also the tutor of the young Emperor Shundi (ruled 1341–67). Although he was a descendant of the Central Asia Kangli tribe from the northern shore of the Aral Sea in southern Russia, Kangli Naonao was well trained in Chinese history and the Chinese classics. Like many Mongols during the Yuan period (1279–1368), he was deeply influenced by Chinese culture and became a traditional Confucianist.

In calligraphy Kangli Naonao gained special fame for his cursive script. The anecdote told by his contemporaries is that upon hearing that the great master Zhao Mengfu could write ten thousand characters per day, Kangli replied that he habitually wrote thirty thousand per day. Whether or not the story is an exaggeration, it is a testament to Kangli's diligence and speed, which are two of his outstanding traits. During Kangli's later years, his fame as a calligrapher was as great as Zhao Mengfu's, and the two men were frequently referred to by later contemporaries as "Zhao from the South" and "Kangli from the North." This colophon and the text that precedes it provide, therefore, a rare combination of calligraphy by these two outstanding masters.

References: Fu and Nakata 1981–83, vol. 3, pls. 16 and 17, pp. 137–38; Fu 1977.



detail showing Kangli Naonao's signature and seals

趙文敏公好書道經
數在名山甚衆此至
一馬而王有軍法書
派傳於世唯黃庭為
稱首今觀趙公以書
清勁徑飄然若
帆骨如仙姿厚氣如

9 Colophon to the Painting "A Breath of Spring" by Zou Fulei

semicursive script

by Yang Weizhen (1296–1370)

China, Yuan dynasty; inscription dated 1361

handscroll; ink on paper

height 35.8 cm (14 $\frac{1}{8}$ in); length 329 cm (129 $\frac{1}{2}$ in)

31.1

Yang Weizhen, a renowned scholar-poet and calligrapher, was a close friend of the Daoist painter Zou Fulei. Yang was inspired by Zou's painting of a plum branch, and few of his other calligraphic works match the quality of his colophon on the Freer handscroll. Yang's untrammelled and unrestrained colophon is well suited to Zou's powerful painting. His poem and postinscription praise Zou Fulei and Zou's brother, and records his meeting with them. The colophon supplies the only firsthand material concerning Zou Fulei, for whom biographical details would otherwise be lost.

The size of the characters in the colophon varies, and the number of characters within each column varies from one to four. Yang Weizhen also varied his brush strokes, from exceptionally thin to exceptionally broad, and his use of the ink from a thick application to a smoky film. There is almost no space between the individual columns of calligraphy. As a result, Yang Weizhen's colophon has a potent total design, with large black characters surrounded by smaller characters, and smoky strokes juxtaposed with those that are written in broad, solid, dark ink.

Yang Weizhen applied inner tension and heavy pressure in each stroke of his brush, creating some naturally wavy vertical strokes and others that are jerky and at right diagonals. The lifted tails of his diagonal strokes and dots are the remnants of archaic cursive script. Yang enriched his calligraphy

by mixing different script types, which range from cursive to semistandard, and introducing characters of different structures, from squarish to circular. The rich variety and strong contrast lend a modern feeling to this mid-fourteenth-century calligraphic work.

The colophon by Yang may be divided into two sections: an eight-line regular poem in seven-character meter, and a postinscription. The poem presents a contemporary appraisal of Zou Fulei and his brother, Zou Fuyuan:

*There are two Fus among the Daoists at Hedong,
Both men are not common and belong to the immortals,
The younger Fu paints plums like Huaguang,
The elder Fu paints bamboo like Wen Tong,
Wen Tung [the elder Fu] went away [died] like a [painted] dragon breaking down a wall,
Huaguang [the younger Fu] retains the breath of spring,
The Sage of the Great Tree is in deep dreaming,
The bluebirds sing while he is dreaming at the dawn.¹*

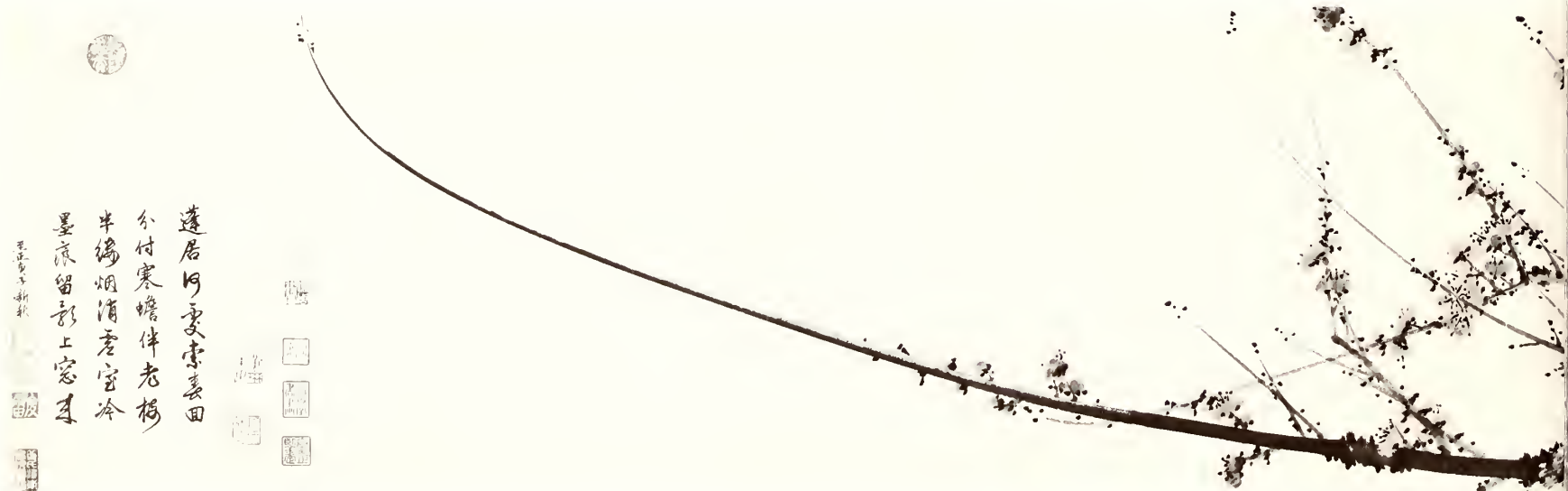
In the postinscription, written in smaller characters than the poem, Yang Weizhen mentions that he visited the two Fu brothers and saw their paintings. After tea, Zou Fulei brought out paper and asked for Yang's inscription. It is dated the seventh month of 1361, one year after Zou com-

pleted his painting.

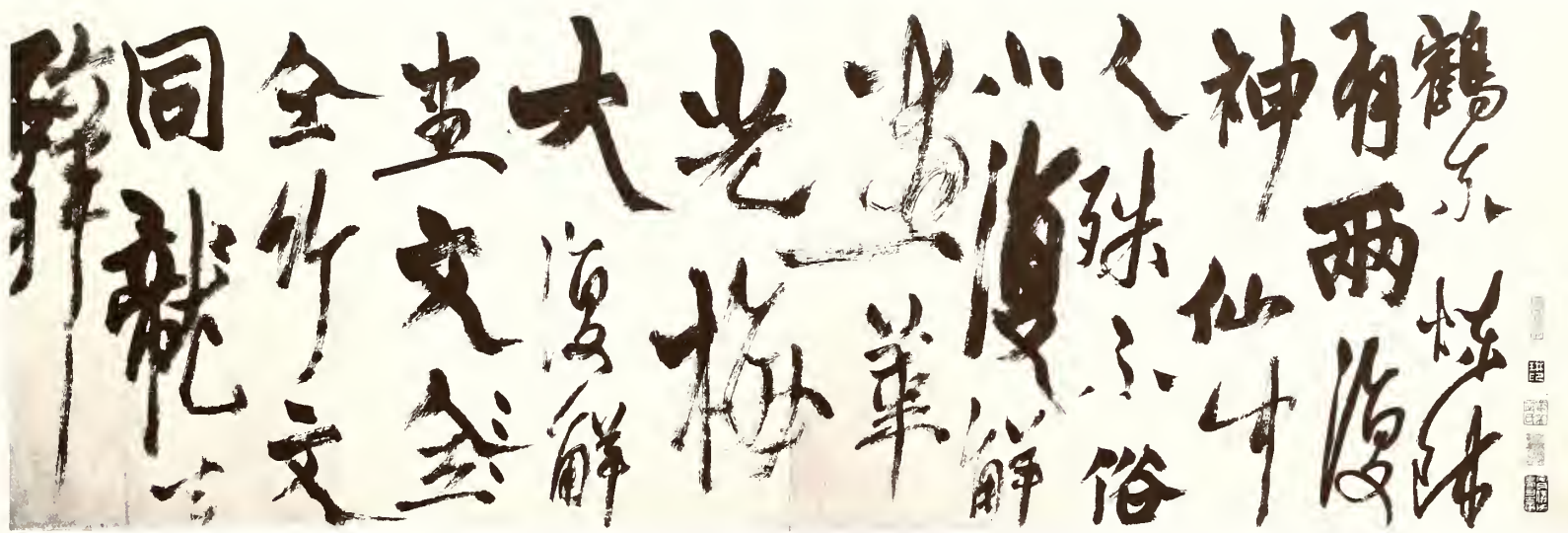
Although Zou Fulei was not a well-known artist, the Freer scroll can be ranked as one of the best plum-flower paintings of any period. The powerful trunk and branches must have inspired Yang to produce such impassioned calligraphy for his colophon. Of the dozen of Yang's extant works, this is considered the most exciting.

Yang Weizhen was also known by the names Lianfu, Tiejai, and Tieti daoren. His father built a library—surrounded by hundreds of plum trees—that held a collection of many tens of thousands of books. Yang's father let his son study upstairs in the library and, to ensure uninterrupted concentration, would take away the movable staircase. Yang Weizhen became one of the most learned scholars and poets of his generation. After giving up an official career, he became an influential teacher and literatus at Songjiang near Shanghai, although he was a native of Shaoxing, Zhejiang Province.

Yang Weizhen's forceful personality, dominated by an honest character and straightforward manner, contributed to his singular eccentricity, which was the root of the term "Tiejai style" used to describe his poetry. Although Yang's calligraphy was not regarded in the same way, his vibrant and unique style is immediately recognizable. Traditional criticism toward his calligraphy is mixed. Critics thought it was interesting and untrammelled, yet not up to



Zou Fulei's *A Breath of Spring*



detail of colophon by Yang Weizhen

the highest standards because it was too eccentric and unorthodox. To modern eyes, however, his calligraphy is picturesque and visually attractive, with no taint of superficial or flamboyant movements.

1. Adapted from Archibald G. Wenley's translation in Archibald G. Wenley, "A Breath of Spring' by Tsou Fu-lei," *Ars Orientalis* 2 (1957): 459-69.

Reference: Fu and Nakata 1981-83, vol. 4, pls. 8-10, pp. 138-40.

overleaf: detail, cat. no. 9



一氣為去去又回雅
物消息付寒梅蕊珠
仙姑也美巧偷先
風特地來
周國朝之移也

9 Colophon to the Painting "A Breath of Spring" by Zou Fulei

semicursive script
by Yang Weizhen (1296–1370)
China, Yuan dynasty; inscription dated 1361
* handscroll; ink on paper
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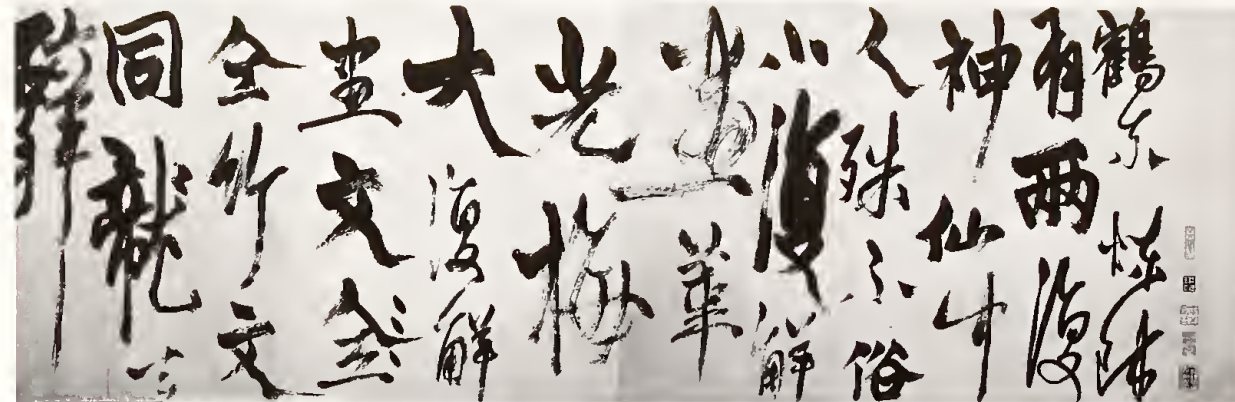
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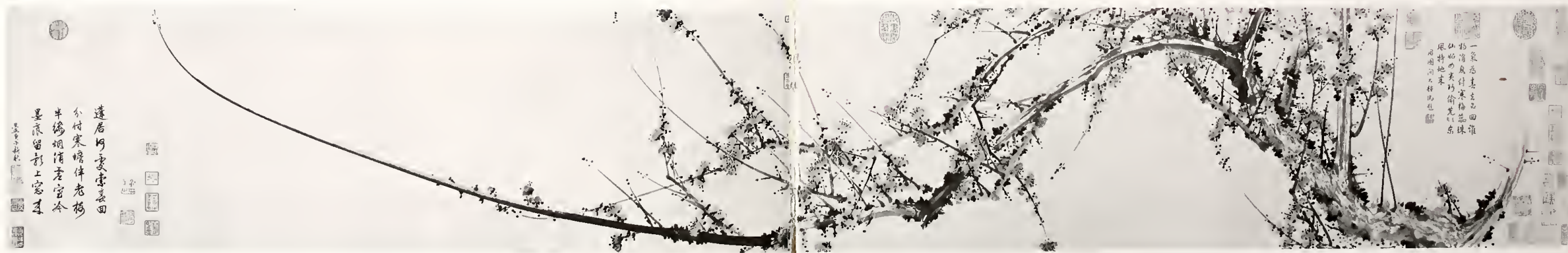
detail of colophon by Yang Weizhen

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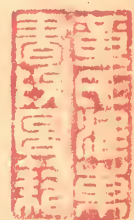
Reference: Fu and Nakata 1981–83, vol. 4, pls. 8–10, pp. 138–40.

overleaf: detail, cat. no. 9



Zou Fulei's *A Breath of Spring*

草书大字



我輩英雄
當此亂世
各盡其責
共挽頹風

五古

印

印

印

印

10 Frontispiece of the Painting "Seven Scholars Going through the Pass"

small seal script

by Cheng Nanyun (act. 1400–1450)

China, Ming dynasty (1368–1644)

handscroll; ink on paper

height 25.7 cm (10¼ in); length 92.9 cm (36⅞ in)

16.184

Five large-size characters written in standard seal script (or small seal script) form the frontispiece of this handscroll painting. In this frontispiece, the characters provide the title of the painting, which may be literally translated as *Picture of Seven Scholars Going through the Pass*.

The individual strokes of these five characters are written in even thickness. The brush tip is hidden at both the beginning and end of each stroke. Even the joinings of the circular elements are concealed. The corners of the characters are smooth and round. Although there are many curves in the five characters that make up the title, each stroke is like a steel rod, strong and solid. The structure of individual characters is either symmetrical or, if asymmetrical, well balanced. Each stroke is an integral part of a precalculated perfect design.

Cheng Nanyun used a regular brush, with a special technique to conceal the sharp tip. He turned his brush evenly and steadily to avoid angular corners. Every stroke is perfectly polished, each character well constructed. To balance the simple characters on the right, Cheng reduced the size of the fifth character on the left. At the end of the title, he signed his name in regular script: "Written by the bureau director in the Ministry of Personnel, also the calligrapher-in-waiting at the Hanlin Academy, Cheng Nanyun."

Cheng Nanyun was a native of Jiangxi Province. Early in the Yonglo period (1403–24) he was summoned to serve as a calligrapher to the Central Drafting Office. Cheng was a colleague and close friend of the famous painter of bamboo, Xia Chang (1388–1470). Cheng Nanyun was also known as a painter of bamboo and plum in the snow. He was famous as a calligrapher for both seal and standard scripts, but almost all of the many frontispieces written by him are in seal script. Judging from his signature, Cheng's standard script is typical of the neat and polished court style of the early Ming dynasty.

During the Zhengtong period (1436–49), Cheng Nanyun served as the chief minister at the Court of Imperial Sacrifice at Nanjing. The standard seal script he used for the title of the Freer handscroll is based on the official script of the Qin dynasty (221–

東部郎中兼翰林侍
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207 B.C.). Cheng followed that calligraphic tradition twelve hundred years later, through the model provided by the Yishan stele (219 B.C.) and further influenced by the style of the Tang seal master Li Yangbing (act. 759–80). Seal script was used as a formal, more classic or decorative script in the later periods. Cheng Nanyun is considered one of the most important seal-script calligraphers of the early Ming period.

A frontispiece is usually an illustration preceding and facing the title page of a book or magazine. In Chinese painting and calligraphy, however, a frontispiece generally refers to the calligraphic section preceding the main work, regardless of whether the work is of painting or calligraphy, or whether it is in album or handscroll format.

In content, a calligraphic frontispiece most often records the title of the work, although it sometimes may be a laudatory phrase or, less often, a poem. The calligraphy in a frontispiece is usually written in large-size characters in any of the different scripts. Before poetic couplets became

popular, frontispieces dating from the Yuan (1279–1368) and Ming dynasties provided many rare examples of large-size calligraphy. Archaic scripts such as seal and clerical are more formal than standard and running scripts. Consequently, Chinese calligraphers frequently wrote frontispieces in the archaic scripts. Cursive script, which is strikingly informal, is seldom used for a frontispiece.

References: Fu and Nakata 1981–83, *Ming Qing*, vol. 1, fig. 3, pp. 159–60; Lawton 1973, pp. 74–76.

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detail from *Seven Scholars Going through the Pass*, anonymous, Ming dynasty

10 Frontispiece of the Painting "Seven Scholars Going through the Pass"

small seal script

by Cheng Nanyun (act. 1400–1450)

China, Ming dynasty (1368–1644)

handscroll; ink on paper

height 25.7 cm (10¼ in); length 92.9 cm (36¾ in)

16.184

Five large-size characters written in standard seal script (or small seal script) form the frontispiece of this handscroll painting. In this frontispiece, the characters provide the title of the painting, which may be literally translated as *Picture of Seven Scholars Going through the Pass*.

The individual strokes of these five characters are written in even thickness. The brush tip is hidden at both the beginning and end of each stroke. Even the joinings of the circular elements are concealed. The corners of the characters are smooth and round. Although there are many curves in the five characters that make up the title, each stroke is like a steel rod, strong and solid. The structure of individual characters is either symmetrical or, if asymmetrical, well balanced. Each stroke is an integral part of a precalculated perfect design.

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References: Fu and Nakata 1981–83, *Ming Qing*, vol. 1, fig. 3, pp. 159–60; Lawton 1973, pp. 74–76.



detail from *Seven Scholars Going through the Pass*, anonymous, Ming dynasty

II Preface of the Lanting Gathering by Wang Xizhi

semicursive script

by Wen Zhengming (1470–1559)

China, Ming dynasty; dated 1553

handscroll; ink on paper

height 24.9 cm (9¹³/₁₆ in); length 139.2 cm (54¹³/₁₆ in)

10.6

Guided by the vertical grid, the calligraphy in this preface is in semicursive script, arranged in spacious vertical columns. Although the brushwork is fluent and speedy, each stroke is nevertheless substantive and full of energy. The fine tips of the individual strokes are as sharp as needles, and the heavy strokes appear as if carved into a wooden surface. Structurally, the characters are rich in variation, elegant, and sturdy.

Wen Zhengming, who before 1510 was called Wen Bi, was born into a prominent Suzhou family of scholars and collectors. A leading painter, calligrapher, and scholar of the mid-Ming period, Wen Zhengming studied the classics with Wu Kuan (1435–1504), painting with Shen Zhou (1427–1509), and calligraphy with Li Yingzhen (1431–1493). Together with his literary friends Zhu Yunming (1461–1527), Tang Yin (1470–1523), and Xu Zhenqing (1479–1511), Wen Zhengming was known as one of the Four Talents of Wu (Suzhou). During his long life, Wen Zhengming had a profound influence on several generations of artistic and literary figures, including Chen Shun (1483–1544) and Wang Chong (1494–1533), whose works are also represented in this catalogue (see cat. nos. 13 and 14). In calligraphy Wen Zhengming excelled in all the major scripts: seal, clerical, standard, semicursive, and cursive. Among them, he most often practiced semicursive script, following the style of the master calligrapher Wang Xizhi (ca. 303–ca. 361). *Shengjiao xu* (Preface of Buddha's Teachings) and *Lanting xu* (Preface of the Lanting Gathering) by Wang Xizhi were Wen Zhengming's two major models.

Wang Xizhi composed and calligraphed the original *Preface of the Lanting Gathering* during a famous literary gathering at Lanting in the spring of A.D. 353. While scholars and poets composed poetry and drank wine, Wang Xizhi used a brush made from mice whiskers to write his famous essay on paper made of silk cocoons:

All the worthies, old and young, gather together at a place with lofty mountains and tall peaks, surrounded by lush forest and slender bamboo. . . . there is a clear running brooklet and rushing stream winding around and we sit along it drinking and chanting. . . . That day the sky was cloudless; the wind blew softly. . . . Here

chimed around us every music that can soothe the ear; was spread before us every color that can delight the eye.

It was in this kind of poetic atmosphere that Wang Xizhi produced his immortal literature and calligraphy. Although he made a few corrections on his first draft, it was to remain his best version; Wang Xizhi could never again achieve the spontaneity and rich variation of the original draft, even though he repeatedly tried to produce a better final work. Wang Xizhi's first draft thus became a family treasure until the lifetime of his seventh-generation descendant, when the manuscript finally went into the imperial collection of Emperor Tang Taizong (r. 626–49). The emperor was an admirer of Wang Xizhi, and in his own calligraphy followed Wang's style. The emperor ordered the best calligraphers in the court to make several close freehand copies of the Lanting manuscript. The original version was buried with the emperor after his death in A.D. 649, but the freehand copies and many subsequent rubbings (see fig. 3) have served as models for later generations. In the entire history of calligraphy, the *Preface of the Lanting Gathering* is the most practiced, copied, and influential of any single piece of work by a Chinese calligrapher.

On the third day of the third month of each year, Chinese poets and calligraphers of later generations followed the tradition of holding gatherings and copying the preface originally written by Wang Xizhi in A.D. 353. The cyclical year when Wang Xizhi had the gathering was *guichou*; it was an especially important event among Chinese poets and calligraphers when they met on the same cyclical year, which recurs every sixty years. The postinscription by Wen Zhengming on the Freer scroll reads:

On the twenty second day of spring in the guichou year at the bright window I opened the scroll to enjoy it then I leisurely transcribed the model calligraphy: Lanting preface by Zhengming at the age of eighty-four.

The cyclical year *guichou* in the year 1553 occurred exactly twelve hundred years after Wang Xizhi had written the original preface. It is reasonable to speculate that Wen wrote several versions of the preface during the

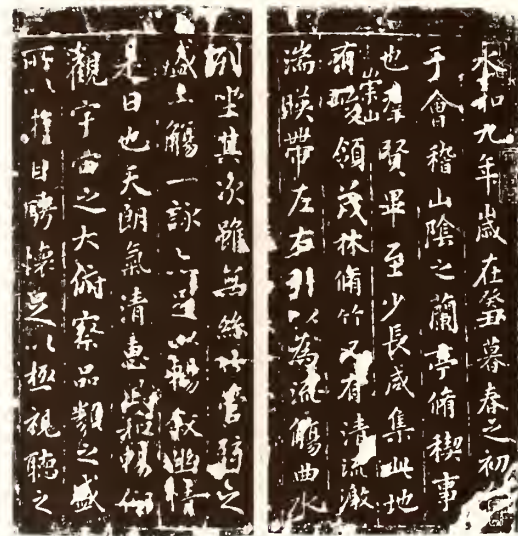


Fig. 3. Song-dynasty rubbing (a Dingwu version) of *Preface of the Lanting Gathering*; ink on paper. Collection unknown.

spring of that same year. During Wen Zhengming's entire life he must have written several hundred versions of the *Preface of the Lanting Gathering*, but there are only a half-dozen known today.

Wen Zhengming was so familiar with the model that he did not have to copy from the original. He simply transcribed the text from memory and still retained the essence of Wang Xizhi's calligraphic style; at the same time, Wen Zhengming's versions reveal his own distinguished style. This kind of "copy" certainly cannot be regarded as a practice piece. It is Wen Zhengming's deeply personal commentary upon the stylistic achievement of his model, as well as a display of a purely calligraphic performance in his interpretation of Wang Xizhi's Lanting preface.

Wen Zhengming was about eighty-four years old in 1553, six years before his death, when he wrote the calligraphy for the Freer scroll. It is remarkable that a man of his advanced years produced such an energetic, precise, yet elegant work without any sign of decline in his calligraphy.

References: Fu and Nakata 1981–83, *Ming Qing*, vol. 1, pls. 61 and 62, pp. 174–75; Richard Edwards, *The Art of Wen Cheng-ming (1470–1559)* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Museum of Art, 1976); Anne De Coursey Clapp, *Wen Cheng-ming: The Ming Artists and Antiquity* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae Publishers, 1975).



惟康印
吾印

永和九年歲在癸丑暮春
之初會于會稽山陰之蘭亭
脩禊事也羣賢畢至少長
咸集此地有崇山峻嶺茂
林脩竹又有清流激湍映
帶左右引以為流觴曲水
列坐其次雖無絲竹管絃
之盛一觴一詠亦足以暢敘
幽情是日也天朗氣清惠
風和暢仰觀宇宙之大俯
察品類之盛所以遊目
騁懷足以極視聽之娛信
可樂也夫人之相與俯仰

攬昔人興感之由所以合一
契來者不臨文嗟悼不
不能喻之于懷固知一死
生為虛誕齊彭殤為妄
作後之視今亦由今之視昔
悲夫故列敘時人錄其所述
雖以殊事異所以興懷其
致一也後之攬者亦將有感
於斯文

癸丑暮二月廿日羽憲
展覽得錄蘭亭帖
也 清嗣四年八月廿四



details

semicursive script
 by Wang Shouren (1472–1529)
 China, Ming dynasty; first letter ca. 1524
 handscroll; ink on paper
 height 25.5 cm (10 in); length 225 cm (88⁷/₁₆ in)
 82.33

The calligraphy in Wang Shouren's scroll of three letters is arranged with generous spacing between the columns. The structure of individual characters is elongated and tight. Wang Shouren used a springy and sharp brush that was ideally suited to his relatively strong and vivid wrist movement.

The fluent, sharp, and forceful brush strokes are much like the calligraphic style of the great master Wen Zhengming (1470–1559; see cat. 11). Wang Shouren was two years younger than Wen Zhengming, but he died thirty years earlier. Because there was no close personal connection between the two calligraphers, the stylistic similarities between their work can be explained only by their having shared the same model: the *Shengjiao xu* (*Preface of Buddha's Teachings*) by the calligraphy sage Wang Xizhi (ca. 303–ca. 361), who also wrote the original *Preface of the Lanting Gathering* (see cat. no. 11).

Since this calligraphy scroll consists of three letters by Wang Shouren, the writing might be considered by some as being typical and not out of the ordinary. But China has a long history of appreciating correspondence as pieces of calligraphy. With only a few exceptions, for example, all of the hundreds of works attributed to Wang Xizhi are personal letters. The reasons for the regard for correspondence are several. In the centuries before exhibitions of calligraphy became popular in China, a personal letter was almost the only way to impress others with one's calligraphy. Ancient masters, therefore, usually paid more attention to their correspondence than people do today. Letters were collected by friends or connoisseurs of later generations. Sometimes, in the course of history, the letters were carved in stone so that rubbings could be made to serve as model calligraphies. All Chinese calligraphers were thus raised in a tradition that placed great emphasis upon copying letters by great masters from the past. When they wrote their letters, it was with the understanding that they would someday be collected by friends and later connoisseurs. Through spontaneously written correspondences, a calligrapher could reveal his training, cultivation, and talent. Letters were traditionally important, moreover, because Chinese historians have always been interested in

learning details about a calligrapher's life through his letters.

It is not essential to know the content of letters, such as these written by Wang Shouren, when trying to appreciate the calligraphy alone. Since these particular letters are not dated, however, an art historian trying to place them within Wang Shouren's oeuvre would study the texts to know more about the calligrapher.

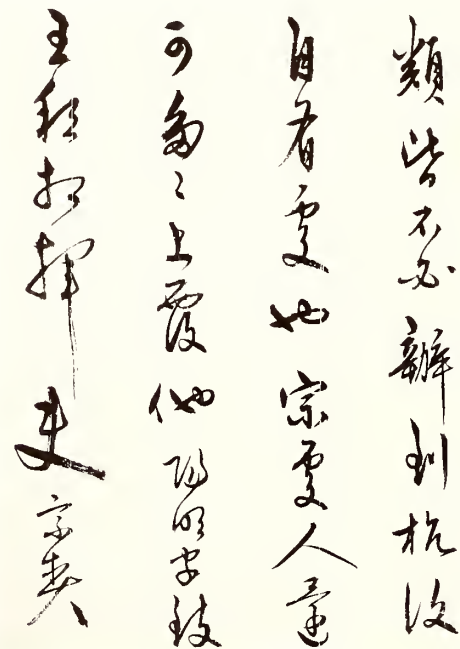
Wang Shouren, philosopher and official as well as calligrapher, came from a family registered in Yuyao, Zhejiang Province, but resided most of the time in the prefectural city of Shaoxing. It was said that Wang was unable to speak until the age of four, but he exhibited a spirit of adventure and a questioning of orthodox beliefs, characteristics that helped to explain his future turbulent political career and dynamic thinking.

Wang Shouren received the *jinshi* degree in 1499. After serving as a government official for three years, his health declined and he returned home to recuperate and contemplate at Yangming Mountain in Kuaiji Range. After that time, he became known as Wang Yangming.

Central to Wang Shouren's best-known philosophy, which developed after 1509, is that knowledge and action are one. He believed that knowledge is the beginning of action and action is the completion of knowledge. Wang Shouren was considered the most important and influential Chinese philosopher since the sixteenth century. In addition, he had a successful official career later in his life. He was the provincial governor of Guangdong and Guangxi provinces, and in that capacity settled a long-lasting local rebellion. It is generally acknowledged that among his contemporary civil officials, he was the most knowledgeable in matters of defense and strategy.

Several points relating to the date of Wang Shouren's first letter in the Freer handscroll should be mentioned: Wang was in the mourning period for his deceased father when he wrote the letter; his first wife was seriously ill; and he wrote the letter before he married his second wife. From Wang Shouren's biography, we know that his father died in 1522 and that the official mourning period lasted three years. Second, we also know that Wang's first wife died in 1525, and that he remarried the

same year. It is reasonable to suggest, therefore, that the first letter in the Freer handscroll was written around 1524, about five years before the calligrapher's death. The recipient of the letter was one of Wang Shouren's relatives, Wang Bangxiang. With the letter, Wang Shouren also sent money and a request for Wang Bangxiang to order him a pair of black official shoes and the highest quality of strings for his lute.



detail showing Wang Shouren's signature

南系事向因在昨割中恐致
遲悞伊家歲月已令定海回
報之伊改圖矣不謂其事
尚在只今道里遙隔少勢亦
甚不便况者妻病昨在床
日甚一甚危不可測者何心情

wild-cursive script
 by Chen Shun (1483–1544)
 China, Ming dynasty; ca. 1540
 handscroll; ink on paper
 height 26.7 cm (10½ in); length 769.7 cm (303¼ in)
 80.21

Chinese calligraphers sometimes transcribed a text of their own composition, and on other occasions transcribed texts written by another person. Although it is obvious that a calligrapher can choose a text of any type, by any author, and from any period, it is equally true that the calligrapher's choice may reflect his thoughts, taste, training, and cultivation. Furthermore, a particular text may be fraught with emotional or cultural connotations that influence the mood of the calligrapher while he is writing. The exciting brush movements in this scroll by Chen Shun were to a degree inspired by the famous poems of the "sage of poetry," Du Fu (712–770) of the Tang dynasty (618–907).

In this scroll, sweeping brush strokes move in a broad arching pattern across the paper; dots attack the paper from the air. The calligrapher clearly was in full charge of his exuberant energy. Chen Shun moved his suspended arm and brush at great speed. The ribbonlike strokes dance in the air in a rich variety of movements. The structure of characters varies from tight and small to extremely expansive and airy. The columns also vary; some contain several characters, others, only one. Hardly a character is written on a single vertical axis. The characters twist, shrink, stretch, and lean toward right or left; each one has its own manner and expression.

The ink tonality also varies from dark to pale, wet to dry, opaque to smoky. This handscroll is visually one of Chen Shun's most exciting scrolls of calligraphy. Yet some critics may think that the ribbonlike strokes are too thin and flat, too light and without substance, and that the sideways strokes are too scratchy. The spontaneous movement cannot produce articulate strokes all the way through, which may be one of Chen's most criticized shortcomings. Otherwise, he would be considered as prominent as his teachers and contemporaries, who are recognized as the great masters of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644).

Great speed in execution certainly relies on the individual calligrapher's personality and character, but in this case the fluency was also aroused by the poems Chen Shun was transcribing. He must have memorized Du Fu's famous poems; it is evident that Chen was deeply moved by them and that their content constantly aroused his emotions.

Although there are five poems originally included in Du Fu's "Thoughts on Ancient Sites," Chen Shun transcribed only three of them on this scroll. The last poem may be translated as:

*Chu-ko's great name hangs across the world,
 His portrait is majestic and pure.
 Triple division and separate states twisted his
 plans,
 A single feather in a sky of a thousand ages.
 Not better nor worse was he than Yi and Lü;
 Had his strategy succeeded, he would have bested
 Hsiao and Ts'ao.
 As revolving fate shifted the fortunes of Han,
 they could not be restored;
 His purpose was cut off and his body destroyed as
 he toiled with the army.¹*

Chen Shun's inscription, which appears after the third poem, reads:

*Written by Chen Daofu in a secluded place of
 the "Emerald Cloud Studio" at the Five Lakes
 Country Residence.*

Chen Shun (also known as Chen Daofu and Baiyang shanren) was a well-known painter and calligrapher of Suzhou and the eldest student of the master Wen Zhengming (1470–1559; see cat. no. 11). He came from a well-to-do family and frequently entertained artistic and literary friends at his Five Lakes Country Residence. Chen was not only an eminent calligrapher, but was also one of the most important and influential flower painters of the Ming period. The Freer scroll is one of his most cursive and exciting calligraphic scrolls, revealing the influence of Zhu Yunming (1461–1527) and of Tang-dynasty calligraphers.

Although the scroll is not dated, most of the works done by Chen Shun at the Five Lakes Country Residence can be assigned to the years between 1539 and 1542. The scroll may be stylistically dated around 1540, about four years before the calligrapher's death.

1. Translation by Hans H. Frankel in Hans H. Frankel, *The Flowering Plum and the Palace Lady* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1976), p. 118.

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detail



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 by Chen Shun (1483-1544)
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 handscroll; ink on paper
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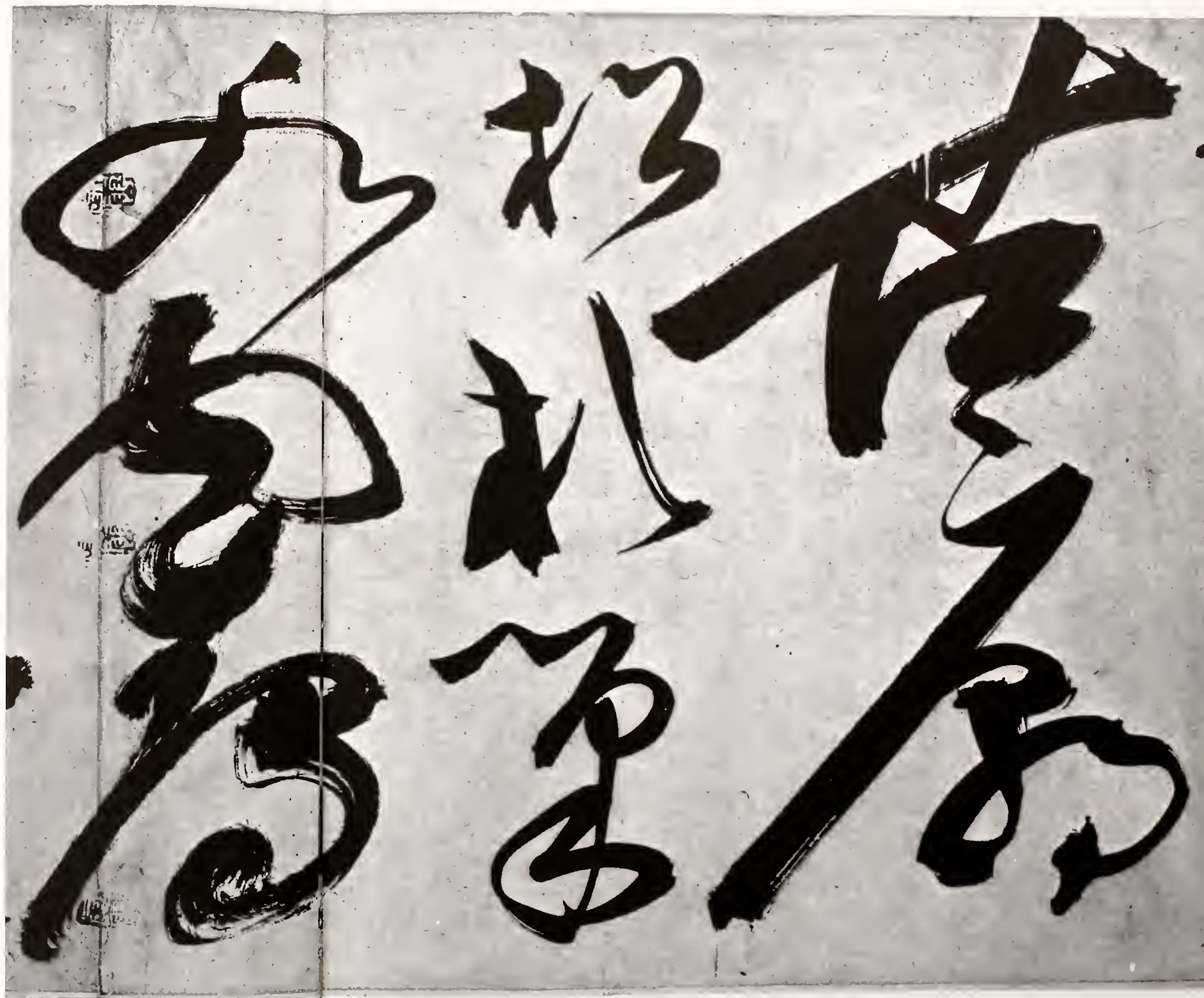
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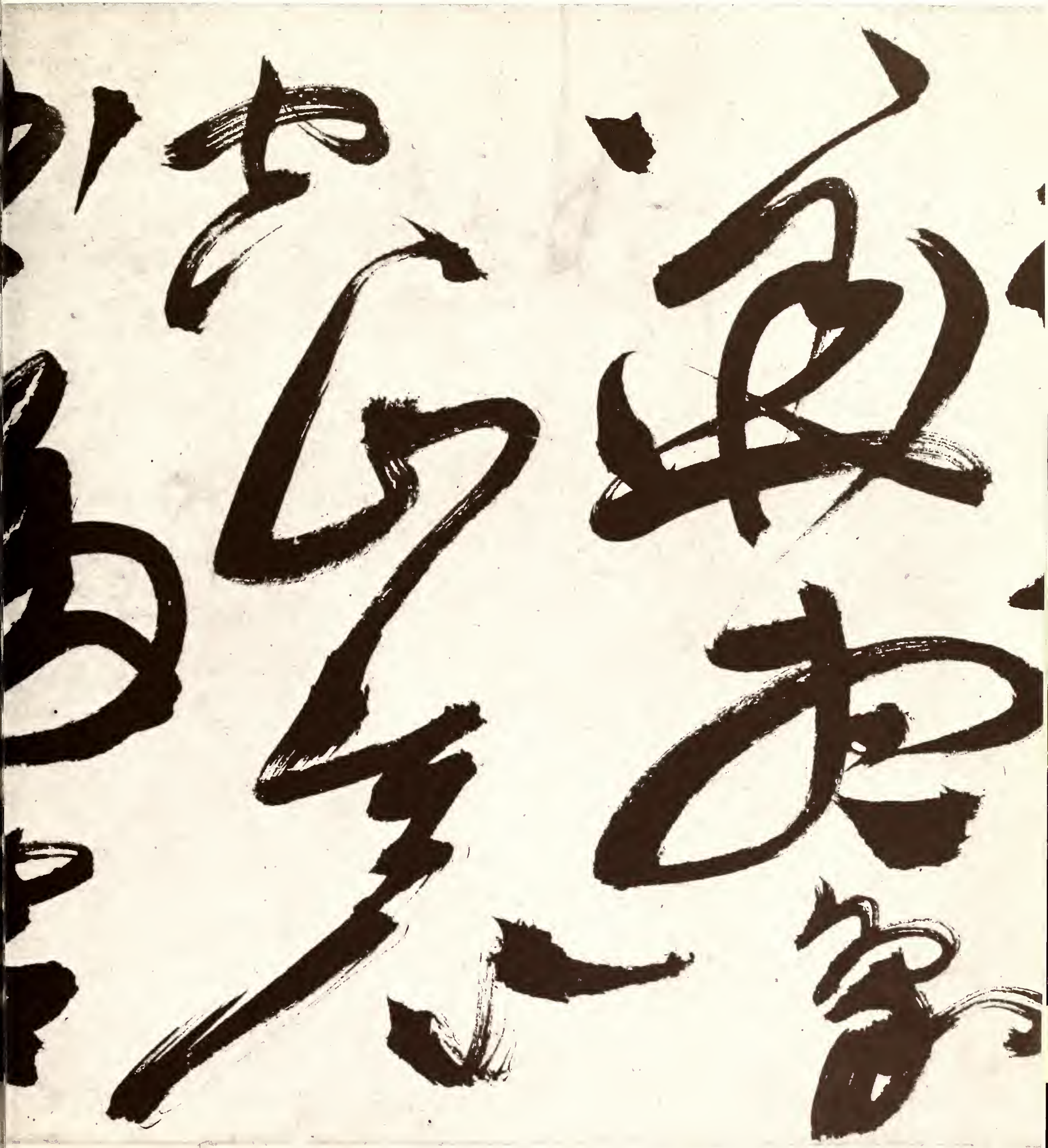
References: Fu and Nakata 1981-83, *Ming Qing*, vol. 1, color plate 3, pls. 85-91, pp. 180-81; Fu 1977, pl. 55, pp. 92 and 234.

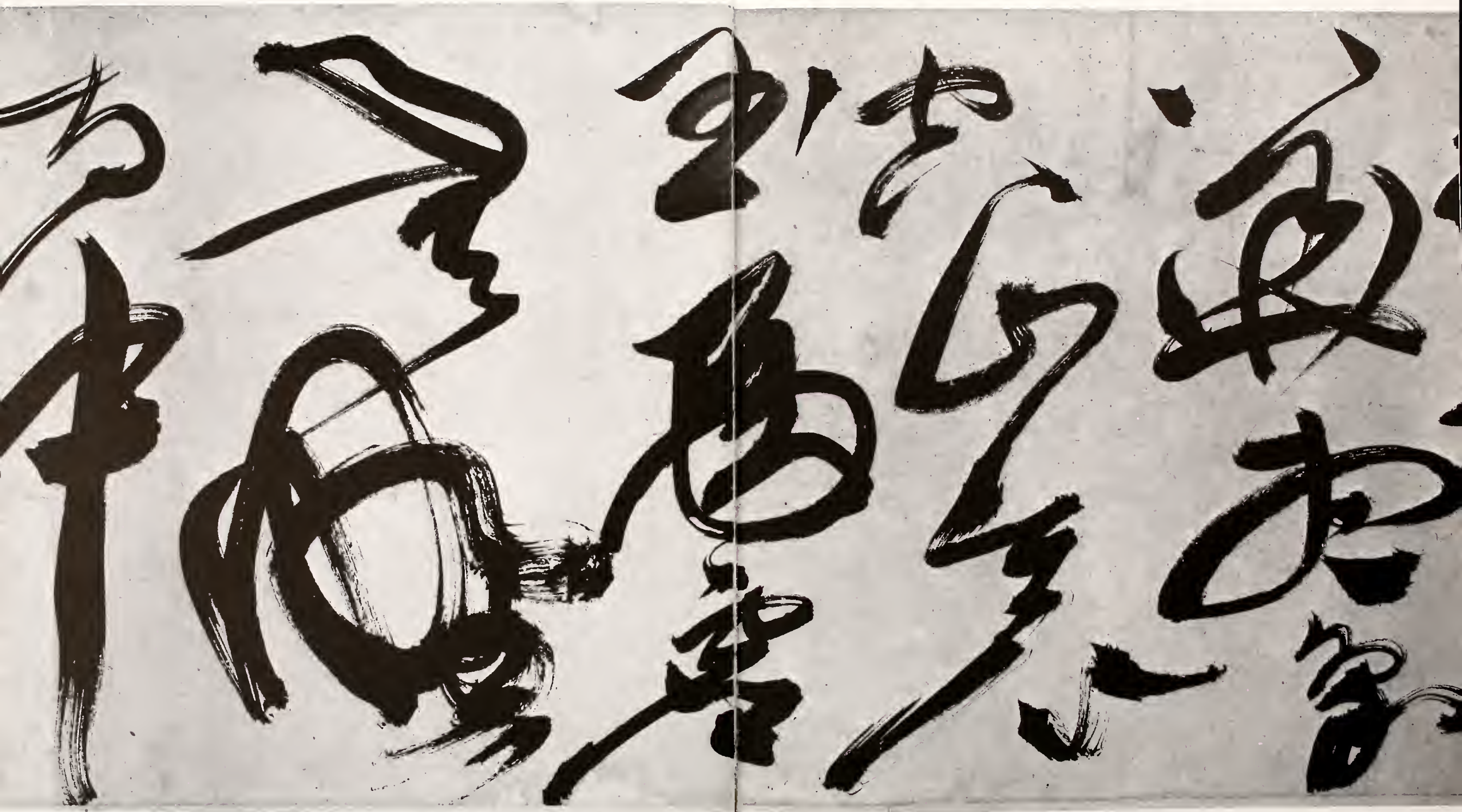


detail



detail, cat. no. 13





14 Six Quatrains on the Lotus Pond

semicursive script
 by Wang Chong (1494–1533)
 China, Ming dynasty; ca. 1528–29
 handscroll; ink on paper
 height 25.9 cm (10³/₁₆ in); length 702.5 cm (276⁹/₁₆ in)
 80.2

The poems in this scroll were both composed and transcribed by Wang Chong. As a result, the concepts of the poetry and the quality of the calligraphy are coherently related. In works of this type, in which the text and calligraphy are by the same person, the calligrapher's ideas, learning, training, and talent, as well as his cultivation and character, are more apparent than when the transcription is of a text by another author. In Wang Chong's scroll, the leisurely atmosphere, the beauty of the Lotus Pond, and the mood of the calligrapher are vividly displayed.

The eighty-line handscroll was written in "running cursive" script, on sparsely gold-flecked colored paper. The heavy and sturdy brush strokes vary in pressure and speed; the characters vary in size. The entire scroll is filled with brilliant, exuberant spirit, with unexpected changes of form and a feeling of expansiveness. The calligraphy is outstanding in its monumentality and freshness—especially with its lacquerlike rich black ink—as if written in a state of pure exhilaration.

The scroll begins with the title of the poems: "Six Quatrains on the Lotus Pond." Renditions of the first, second, and fourth quatrains give the flavor of the contents:

I

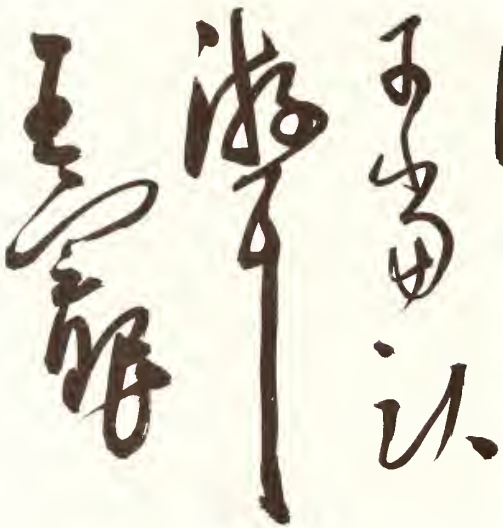
*From picking lotus at the Lotus Pond the girls return,
 as evening clouds thin out above the Nine Dragon Mountain.
 Their bodies light, leaning on the oars, they return to shore,
 the breath of flowers, and their own fragrance, flying with the waves.*

II

*Green mountains like a folding screen, emerald waters winding,
 and ten thousand lotus flowers bloom in patterns.
 Boats of song waving the oars beside the weeping willows,
 ten miles of prosperity amid the embroideries.*

IV

*All the families on this pond are selling lotus, the fifteen-year-old girl is good at counting the money.
 In front of the bramble gate is a tapestry of flowers,
 the old man is napping in the breeze beneath a tall tree.*



detail showing Wang Chong's signature

At the end of the sixth quatrain, Wang Chong added an inscription that reads:

Yesterday I talked with Yuan Yuzhi about the beauty of the Lotus Pond. Yuzhi said he did not know, so I composed and presented six quatrains to him, in the hope that they may take him on an "armchair journey." Wang Chong.¹

Wang Chong, a poet and calligrapher, was a native of Suzhou. He studied with Cai Yu (ca. 1471–1541). Between 1510 and 1531, Wang Chong failed the provincial examinations eight times, and yet he was highly regarded by Wen Zhengming (1470–1559; see cat. no. 11) and his circle. Although Wang Chong died prematurely, together with Zhu Yunming (1461–1527) and Wen Zhengming he is considered one of the three great masters of calligraphy in the Ming dynasty.

Although Wang Chong did not date the Freer scroll, it is clear from judging the style and biographical material that the poems were written around 1528–29, when the calligrapher was about thirty-five years old. Few other Chinese calligraphers achieved such high quality at such a young age. This scroll is also probably the best extant calligraphic work by Wang Chong.

1. Adapted from a translation by Jonathan Chaves.

References: Fu and Nakata 1981–83, *Ming Qing*, vol. 1, color plate 3, pls. 75–78, pp. 177–79; Fu 1977, pl. 57, pp. 92, 112–13, and 275.



detail

日
念
用
裝
送
子
白

三



玉
翠
華

藝
技
如

semicursive script
by Wang Chong (1494–1533)
China, Ming dynasty; ca. 1528–29
handscroll; ink on paper
height 25.9 cm (10 $\frac{1}{16}$ in); length 702.5 cm (276 $\frac{1}{16}$ in)
80.2

The poems in this scroll were both composed and transcribed by Wang Chong. As a result, the concepts of the poetry and the quality of the calligraphy are coherently related. In works of this type, in which the text and calligraphy are by the same person, the calligrapher's ideas, learning, training, and talent, as well as his cultivation and character, are more apparent than when the transcription is of a text by another author. In Wang Chong's scroll, the leisurely atmosphere, the beauty of the Lotus Pond, and the mood of the calligrapher are vividly displayed.

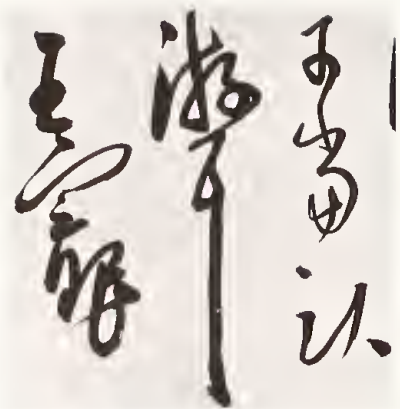
The eighty-line handscroll was written in "running cursive" script, on sparsely gold-flecked colored paper. The heavy and sturdy brush strokes vary in pressure and speed; the characters vary in size. The entire scroll is filled with brilliant, exuberant spirit, with unexpected changes of form and a feeling of expansiveness. The calligraphy is outstanding in its monumentality and freshness—especially with its lacquerlike rich black ink—as if written in a state of pure exhilaration.

The scroll begins with the title of the poems: "Six Quatrains on the Lotus Pond." Renditions of the first, second, and fourth quatrains give the flavor of the contents:

I
From picking lotus at the Lotus Pond the girls
return,
as evening clouds thin out above the Nine
Dragon Mountain.
Their bodies light, leaning on the oars, they
return to shore,
the breath of flowers, and their own fragrance,
flying with the waves.

II
Green mountains like a folding screen, emerald
waters winding,
and ten thousand lotus flowers bloom in patterns.
Boats of song waving the oars beside the weeping
willows,
ten miles of prosperity amid the embroideries.

IV
All the families on this pond are selling lotus,
the fifteen-year-old girl is good at counting
the money.
In front of the bramble gate is a tapestry of
flowers,
the old man is napping in the breeze beneath a
tall tree.



detail showing Wang Chong's signature

At the end of the sixth quatrain, Wang Chong added an inscription that reads:

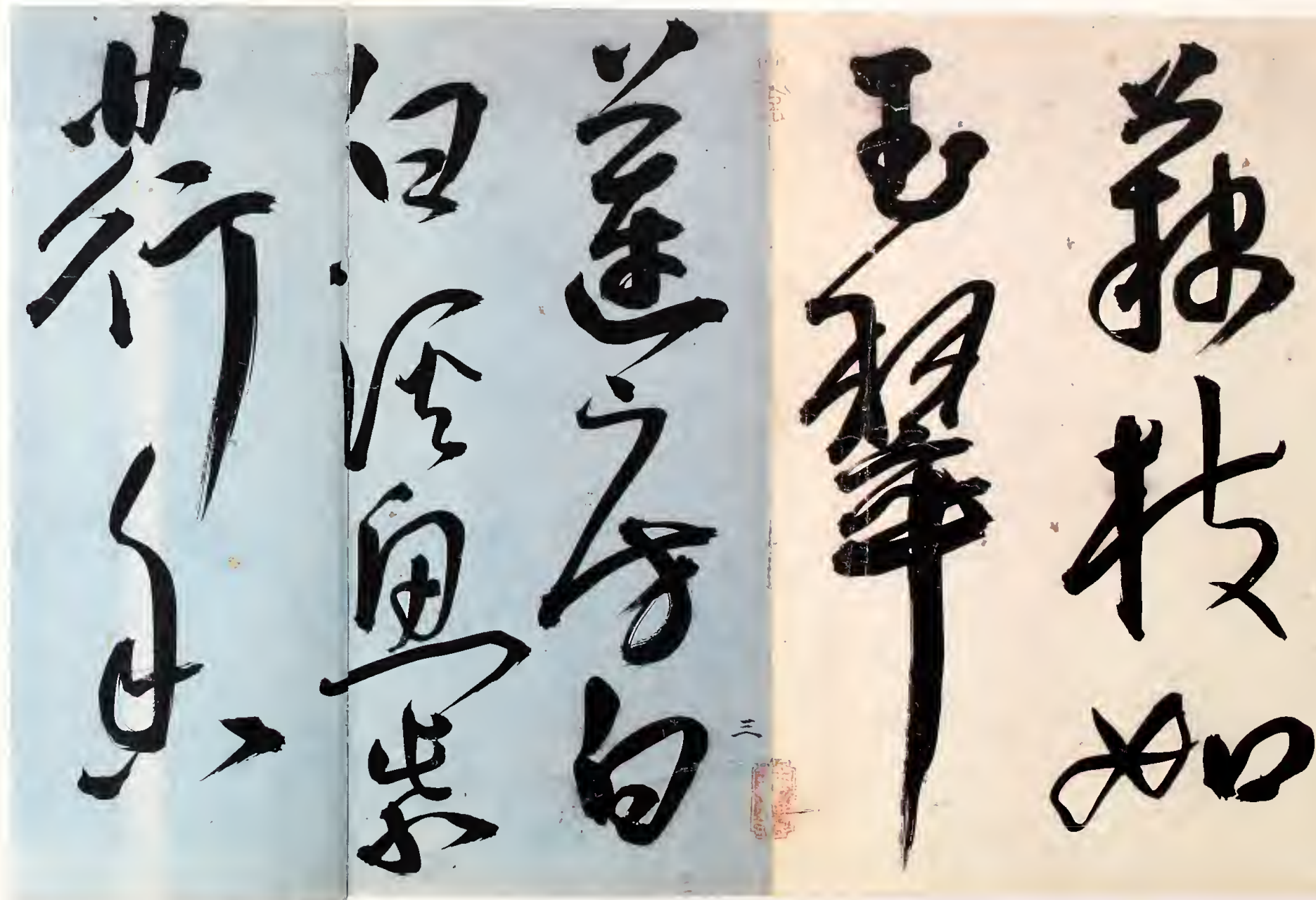
Yesterday I talked with Yuan Yuzhi about the beauty of the Lotus Pond. Yuzhi said he did not know, so I composed and presented six quatrains to him, in the hope that they may take him on an "armchair journey." Wang Chong.¹

Wang Chong, a poet and calligrapher, was a native of Suzhou. He studied with Cai Yu (ca. 1471–1541). Between 1510 and 1531, Wang Chong failed the provincial examinations eight times, and yet he was highly regarded by Wen Zhengming (1470–1559; see cat. no. 11) and his circle. Although Wang Chong died prematurely, together with Zhu Yunming (1461–1527) and Wen Zhengming he is considered one of the three great masters of calligraphy in the Ming dynasty.

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References. Fu and Nakata 1981–83, *Ming Qing*, vol. 1, color plate 3, pls. 75–78, pp. 177–79; Fu 1977, pl. 57, pp. 92, 112–13, and 275.



detail

15 Couplet

standard script

by Fu Shan (1607–1684)

China, Qing dynasty (1644–1911)

pair of hanging scrolls; ink on paper

each: height 226 cm (89 in); width 45.5 cm (17⁷/₈ in)

80.20a-b

The brushwork of the calligraphy in this scroll is bold, heavy, sturdy, and muscular. Individual characters measure approximately one or more square feet in size. The structure of the characters is monumental yet cohesive. Fu Shan has imbued the brush strokes with such inner tension and energy that the characters have an almost explosive quality.

Fu Shan exhausted his energy as he transformed his inner tension through his movement of the soft-haired brush. The Freer scroll is one of the most monumental calligraphic works produced by any Chinese artist.

The tradition of mounting couplets as paired hanging scrolls became popular in China after the sixteenth century. Before that time, couplets were pasted directly onto a door gate, or engraved onto the curved wooden panels that were hung on pillars on both sides of a gate to a Chinese building or on the symmetrical pillars inside the building.

In Chinese calligraphy a couplet always combines calligraphy and parallel composition. Short and concise poetic or philosophical texts and large-size calligraphy have enjoyed wide popularity since the sixteenth century. The format of a pair of hanging scrolls is unique among all the various Chinese calligraphic forms.

A couplet is a unit of verse consisting of two successive lines, which usually rhyme and have the same meter. In Chinese poetry the art of couplet writing developed into a sophisticated and independent poetic format. In the eight lines (four couplets) of “regulated verse,” or *lüshi*, the second and third couplets require a strict and perfect parallelism. The form not only observes the rules of tonal parallelism, but also requires a strict verbal parallelism. For example, a literal translation of the Freer couplet by Fu Shan is:

*Nature peace, meet heart naturally far;
Body leisure, pleasant matter specially more,*

but the meaning of the couplet is:

*One's inner nature at peace, the meeting of mind
naturally reaches far;
One's physical body at leisure, the pleasant
matters specially gain more.¹*

Although this couplet contains six characters in each line, the most common Chinese couplets from the “regulated verse” form are in five- and seven-character meters. An independent couplet can be in almost any meter or in prose format, however, as long as it observes the tonal and verbal parallelism. The beauty of a Chinese couplet relies on the perfection of the geometrical balance of the parallel construction as well as on the depth or elegance of its meaning.

The content of a couplet ranges from the poetic to the philosophical. The earliest, everlasting Chinese couplets used on the gates of people's houses are the New Year couplets, which usually contain auspicious lines for the coming year. Scholarly couplets, meant to be hung in a scholar's studio, probably were first used in the sixteenth century and became extremely popular in the nineteenth century. This calligraphic format still remains one of the most popular in China.

Fu Shan (also known as Fu Qingzhu, Zhuyi daoren, and other names) was an eminent scholar, teacher, doctor, calligrapher, and painter. In 1644, when he was thirty-eight years old, the Manchus conquered China and established the Qing dynasty. Fu Shan, who refused to serve the alien rulers, wore traditional Daoist attire, and in his poems lamented the fall of his country. As a youth Fu Shan practiced the standard script of the Jin (265–420) and Tang (618–907) dynasties. Later, he studied the calligraphy of Yen Zhenqing (709–785). Finally, he created his own bold and distinct personal style, which is best represented by his cursive script (see fig. 4).

1. Adapted from a translation by Jonathan Chaves.

Reference: Fu and Nakata 1981–83, *Ming Qing*, vol. 2, pl. 41, p. 140.

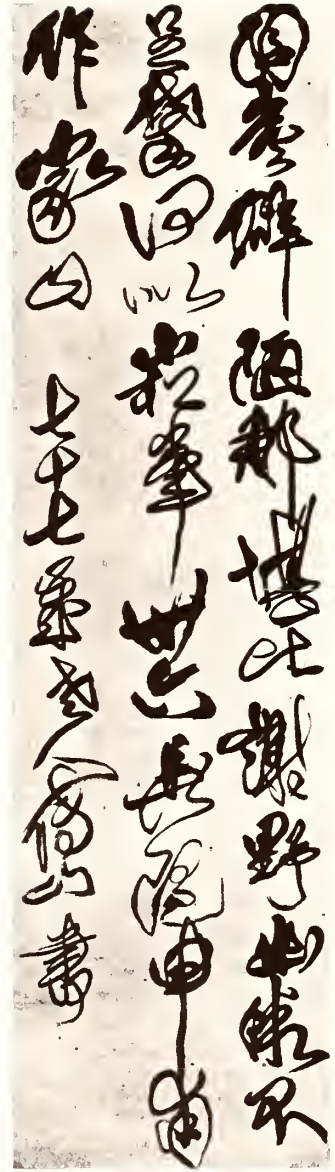


Fig. 4. A more typical example of Fu Shan's cursive script.

性定會心自遠

身閑樂事偏多

傅山書

16 Biography of Gao Cen

standard script

by Zhou Liangong (1612-1672)

China, Qing dynasty; dated 1651

album leaf; ink on paper

height 24.1 cm (9½ in); width 31.6 cm (12⅞ in)

80.116



Landscape by Gao Cen; late Ming dynasty

This small standard script by Zhou Liangong is written in a more archaic manner than is customary, with some elements derived from clerical script. Accented by occasional heavy diagonal strokes, the structure of individual characters is squarish with sharply articulated corners. Zhou Liangong started the *Biography of Gao Cen* (mid-seventeenth century) with small and tightly composed characters, and gradually loosened his handling of the brush, using larger characters and more spacious columns. Toward the end of the biography, he again reduced the size of the characters.

Zhou Liangong wrote the characters slowly, introducing many unconventionally structured forms. Yet the calligraphy does not appear to be slick or vulgar; it is archaistically clumsy and has a distinct personality and style. This is not the kind of calligraphy written in the orthodox style by a well-trained and talented calligrapher. It is, rather, the work of a learned scholar-individualist.

The leaf is mounted on the hanging scroll above a landscape painting by the calligrapher's contemporary, poet-painter Gao Cen. The text by Zhou Liangong is a biography of Gao Cen and mentions his brother and teacher as well.

Gao Cen . . . is the younger brother of Gao Fu, who is well known in the art world. . . . Fu and I have been friends for a very long time, but it was not until later that I became friends with Cen. He has a beard like a halberd and looks like a man who should wear an embroidered robe and ride on a noble steed. However, he takes pleasure from his belief in Buddhism and studies poetry. . . .

As a youth he studied painting under Zhu Hanzhi, but in his late years he followed his own ideas. The paintings in this album were all painted at a temple in the mountains of southern suburbs [of Nanking], amid the shade of pines and the gurgling streams. Excluding all things frivolous and noisy, they quietly drew the viewer into a state of tranquility. . . .

I once stayed at the Sung-feng pavilion where I watched Master Xin and Cen engaged in a quiet discourse late at night. . . . Whenever Cen grasped something from their discussion, he hastened to put it on paper. . . . Both Fu and Cen are of unusually fine character. The place where the two sages live is green and cool, full of vegetation and creepers.¹

From this excerpt, it is clear that Zhou Liangong's vivid description is not only a masterful piece of literature. It is a most important art historical document, because it provides firsthand information about Gao Cen.

Zhou Liangong, scholar-official, art patron, collector, and critic, was a native of Henan Province although he grew up and spent most of his life in Nanjing, the southern capital and the major painting center of the time. It was in Nanjing that Zhou Liangong became acquainted with most of the leading artists, acquired their paintings, and wrote biographical essays for them. Zhou wrote seventy-seven biographies that were later assembled for a book entitled *Duhualu* (Record of Reading Paintings), which provides rich information on seventeenth-century painting and painting criticism.

Zhou Liangong presumably transcribed all the biographical essays in his unique personal calligraphic style, then mounted them with the paintings. But, so far as is known, the Freer album leaf is the only known handwritten biography by Zhou among the seventy-seven essays in his *Duhualu*, which is extant today.

Zhou Liangong received the civil service *jinshi* degree in 1640 and served in various official posts. In his longest appointment, from 1647 to 1654, he served at Fujian, first as provincial judge and later as financial commissioner. Zhou dated this handwritten biography of Gao Cen in 1651; it must have been written, therefore, at Fujian, when Zhou was just forty years old, twenty-one years before his death. The accompanying painting by Gao Cen is not dated, but may well have been created before 1651. It is, therefore, one of Gao Cen's relatively early works.

1. Hongnam Kim, "Chou Liang-kung and His Tu-hualu" (Lives of painters) (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1985), vol. 2, pp. 142-43.

蔚生岑康生弟康生有聲苑豫章文天慵負八倫鑒言秣
 陵巨制舉業傳者高阜八而已阜康生名也岑弟阜同有皆
 譽皆人以之雙丁二陸予弟阜文最久晚乃文岑須髯如戟
 望之如錦裘駿馬中人然喜佞佛早季郎厭棄舉子業學
 為詩、好中晚恒多雋句從法門道昉游伏臘寺居如蔬淡
 雖季少吶然靜默須臾間無浮氣幻皆學同里朱翰之畫
 晚乃以己意行之冊中諸幅皆在南郊山寺松影、鳥聲中
 中所成浮囂既盡肅、引入靜地信夫筆墨一道不當向十
 大軟經塵中相購也所公筆墨妙天下又收藏鼠富子常在松
 風閣見岑弟公亦夜靜譚商量位置兩人舌本間即具一畫
 蠕、欲見之素聲岑每以舌本所得急落子紙焚甫落紙或半
 竟兩人舌本觸、相生別多此緒殆成皆乃無初商二筆以此錢精
 刻骨益入微妙潘君之筆樂君之言宜稱岑者恒多昉公云
 昉公吾友侍御陳涉江也阜弟岑皆至性過人所居多薜蘿間
 綠冷翠中兩高士在焉奉孀母備極色卷造阜弟岑送子至大江
 子別以詩有晨昏蔬以饒、兄弟薜蘿雜居之句可想其怡人之
 致草畫以仙亦清婉有致然多攻制舉業不能畢力肆志也

幸弟長至老樛書於南劍之聽夢菴



17 *Thoughts about the Li Brothers*

cursive script

by Huang Shen (1687–1768)

China, Qing dynasty (1644–1911)

hanging scroll; ink on paper

height 138 cm (54³/₈ in); width 42 cm (16¹/₂ in)

80.13

Although the calligrapher Huang Shen wrote in cursive script, he did not emphasize the speed with which he wrote by linking strokes or characters. On the other hand, Huang Shen was interested in the simplicity and abstract quality of the cursive script. He even purposely chose not to link those strokes that are usually connected. There are, therefore, more dots and short strokes and fewer loops in his calligraphy than are in ordinary cursive script.

Huang Shen was also interested in shifting the axis from character to character. He alternated the heavy and light and the elongated and squat characters, and he varied the thick and thin strokes. Huang occasionally experimented even further, by including one or two characters in running script in the midst of his cursive calligraphy. Not only did he leave little space between characters in the same column, but he also maintained tight spacing between columns. The whole composition of the hanging scroll is thus a pattern of rich variation in shapes and brushwork. Characters are woven together, with the individual characters being less prominent and less important. The approach is more painterly than that used by most Chinese calligraphers. It is no surprise that Huang Shen was also a famous and accomplished painter.

Huang Shen (also known as Huang Yingpiao) was recognized as one of the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou during the eighteenth century. A native of Tingzhou in Fujian Province, he received instructions in painting figures, landscapes, birds, and flowers from Shangguan Zhou (1665–ca. 1749). When Huang realized that there was no way to surpass the skilled perfection of his teacher, he constantly thought about a new style. He was finally inspired by the wild-cursive calligraphy of the Tang master Huaisu (725–785). Huang Shen not only practiced cursive calligraphy, but also successfully applied the cursive strokes to his paintings (see fig. 5). Even his teacher, Shangguan Zhou, was impressed by Huang's new style of painting. When Huang applied the principles of painting to his calligraphy, as he did in the Freer scroll, he achieved a new style.

The content of the scroll is a quatrain composed by Huang Shen:

*Beside the city of flower and stone evening
sadness rises;*

*I remember you—two brothers—in the autumn
of Chu Mountains.*

*South of the Lake, north of the Lake, unlimited
emotion;*

*A thousand miles of shared thoughts, a single
tower of moonlight.*

—*Sent with feelings to Li Zihou and Li Ziming,
Huang Shen of Min [Fujian].*¹

The title of the quatrain, “Thoughts about the Li Brothers,” suggests that this calligraphic work was possibly also dedicated to the Li brothers. The scroll is not dated, but judging from the calligraphic style, it is probably one of Huang's late works. The calligraphy was written as a medium-size hanging scroll, which suggests that it was not necessarily meant as a personal message to be sent to the Li brothers. Even so, the large format indicates that Huang Shen regarded the scroll as an important work of art.

1. Translated by Jonathan Chaves.

Reference: Fu and Nakata 1981–83, *Ming Qing*, vol. 2, pl. 75, p. 149.



Fig. 5. *Man Gazing at Magnolias*, dated 1722. Painting and calligraphy by Huang Shen. Freer Gallery of Art, 62.14.

clerical script

by He Shaoji (1799–1873)

China, Qing dynasty; ca. 1860

hanging scroll; ink on paper

height 137.5 cm (54 $\frac{1}{8}$ in); width 46.2 cm (18 $\frac{3}{16}$ in)

82.7

In China, “model calligraphy” traditionally can be divided into two main categories: *bei*, or “stele,” and *tie*, or “copybook.” Most of the works included in Chinese copybooks are reproductions of free-brush writings by the great masters. The Lanting preface (see cat. no. 11) is one of the most famous examples.

The calligraphy engraved on the surfaces of stone was mainly written by anonymous calligraphers active from the Qin (221–207 B.C.) to the Sui (581–618) dynasty. A number of stelae by famous calligraphers of the Tang dynasty (618–907) were also included as models. In general, the writing style used in stelae was more formal and monumental than the calligraphy included in copybooks. Aside from their stylistic preference, followers of the stele school of calligraphy criticized those who emulated the models in copybooks by stressing that the surviving versions in copybooks hardly resembled the original writings because copyists introduced so many changes through the centuries. The inscriptions preserved on stone stelae, on the other hand, are just one step removed from the original. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries many Chinese calligraphers, inspired by the study of epigraphy, turned to stone inscriptions for models and for inspiration. The scroll by He Shaoji is a typical example of a work modeled on a stone stele.

The slightly squat structure, emphasized by horizontal strokes and occasional heavy accents with upward lifted tails, is characteristic of Chinese clerical script. Written on a relatively absorbent paper, all of the characters on this hanging scroll were written with the reversed brush-tip method. He Shaoji purposely formed some wet, round, and thick stroke heads to create an interesting contrast to the thin and dry strokes. He wrote all the strokes with his elbow and arm suspended; the energy in his body was concentrated in his fingers and transmitted to the brush tip. There are no mechanically parallel brush strokes; each stroke, each character, is a living unit. Although He did not sign his name or affix a name seal on the scroll, the distinctive style and quality clearly reveal his hand.

He Shaoji (also known as He Zizhen and Yuansou) was a native of Daozhou in Hunan Province. In addition to being a



Fig. 6. Rubbing (date unknown) made from the original stone of the Kong Zhou stele (A.D. 164) in the Confucius Temple, Qufu, Shandong Province; ink on paper.

famous poet-calligrapher, he was a scholar of the classics and an etymologist. He received instructions in the art of calligraphy from his father, He Linghan (1772–1840), a high government official. He Shaoji's favorite models were the Tang masters Yen Zhenqing (709–785) and, to a lesser extent, Li Yung (673–747). He also studied widely the scripts on northern stelae, as well as seal and clerical scripts.

In his sixties, He Shaoji devoted most of his energy to practicing clerical stelae of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220). He would copy his favorite models a hundred times. He did not specify the stele on which he based the writing in this scroll, but from the text and style, it is clear that his model was the Kong Zhou stele (see fig. 6).

Kong Zhou (A.D. 103–163) was the nineteenth generational descendant of Confucius and the father of the famous Kong Rong (A.D. 153–208). Kong Zhou had a lofty personality, and was a learned scholar and successful official. According to the text, after Kong Zhou died, “his students and employees went to the famous mountains together, picked this fine stone, and engraved this commemorative inscription to be shown to later generations.” The original stele is still preserved at the Confucius temple at Qufu in Shandong Province. The elegant calligraphy of the stele was praised

by many Qing scholar-calligraphers as one of the orthodox works of clerical script.

The section freely imitated by He Shaoji was on the reverse side of the stele, which recorded all the names of Kong Zhou's followers and their native places. The wet ink blobs naturally produced by He's special brush method resemble the chips of aging stone. The six characters in running script at the end state:

Occasionally written while looking at the bamboo under the rain,

which indicates that He Shaoji wrote the scroll while at leisure and when he felt in the right mood. The calligraphy is not dated, but the text on the first seal indicates that He wrote the scroll after he had held official posts in charge of the provincial examinations in Fujian (1839), Guizhou (1844), and Guangdong (1849) provinces. In 1852, He Shaoji served as commissioner of education in Sichuan and left that office in 1855. Around 1860 he was teaching in Shandong, where the Kong Zhou stele was located. The scroll may be dated, therefore, about 1860, when He was in his early sixties.

Reference: Fu and Nakata 1981–83, *Ming Qing*, vol. 2, pl. 95, pp. 156–57.

門 子 捕
 生 平 巡
 鉅 趙 升
 鹿 政 臺
 瘦 元
 陶 正
 張 廣
 雲 宗

對兩看竹何書



detail showing He Shaoji's seals

19 *Frontispiece of a Poetry Scroll by Xu Wei*

seal script

by Wu Tingyang (1799–1870)

China, Qing dynasty; 1843

handscroll; ink on paper

height 31.7 cm (12½ in); length 95.6 cm (37⅝ in)

80.3

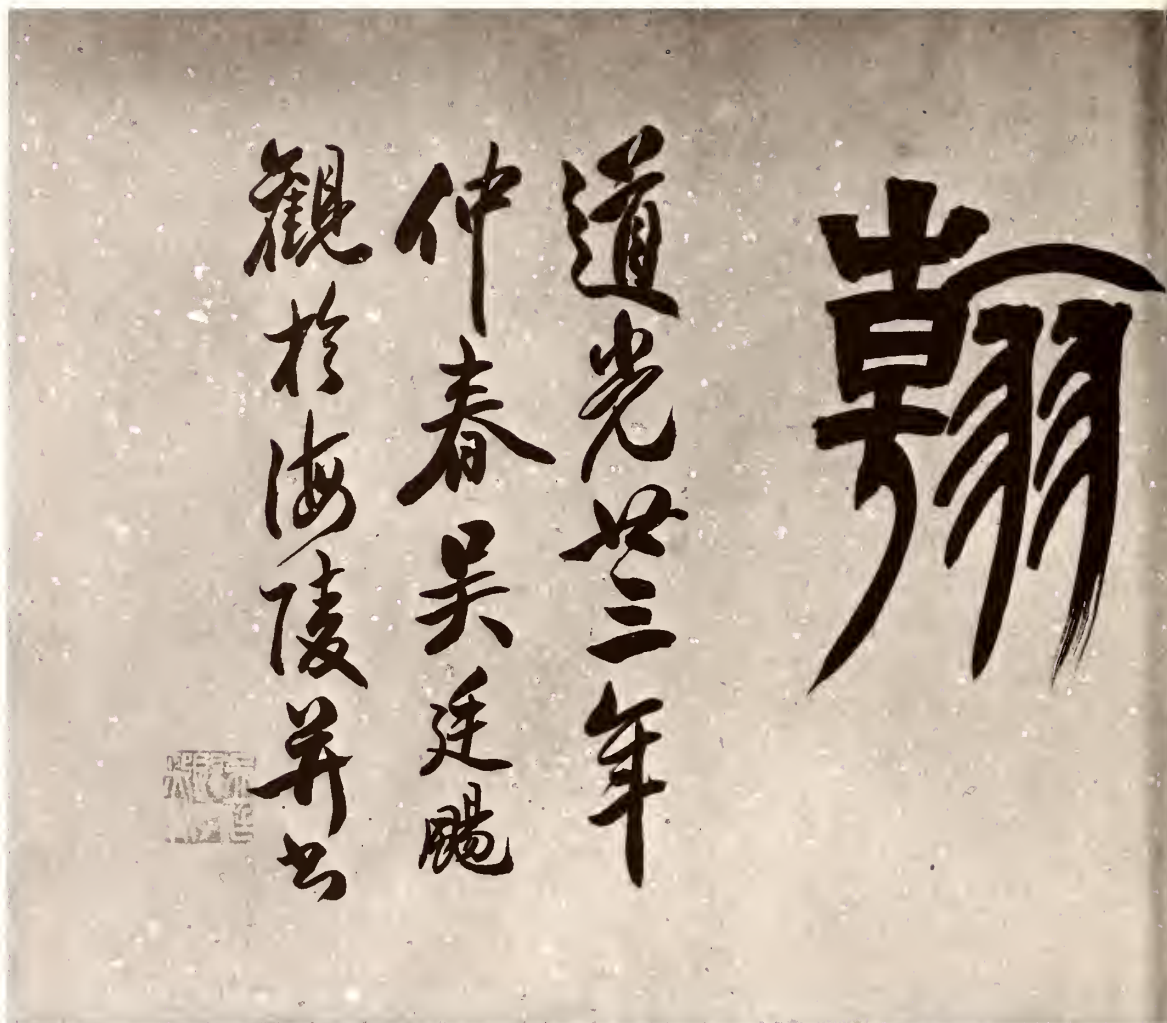
Four large characters forming this frontispiece are written in a special type of seal script. In writing the characters, Wu Tingyang began the individual strokes with squarish heads and then ended some of the strokes with long, sharp tails. These characteristics, together with the calligrapher's introduction of squarish corners to some turning strokes, are quite different from regular seal script. An explanation for the unusual script can be found in the Tianfa Shencan stele (see fig. 7), dating from A.D. 276, which was Wu Tingyang's model for the four characters. The calligraphy on the Tianfa Shencan stele dates from the transitional period between the fully evolved "clerical" and "standard" scripts. The new elements in the use of brush and in the composition of individual characters were introduced into the older "seal" script to achieve a unique calligraphic style. The historical importance of the script was recognized by scholars of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911); some late Qing antiquarian calligraphers, like Wu Tingyang, copied it.

The four characters on the frontispiece of this Freer handscroll may be translated as "The writing of poetry by Qingteng." Qingteng is one of the names used by Xu Wei (1521–1593), the renowned eccentric writer, poet, calligrapher, and, in painting, the precursor of Shitao (1642–1707), Zhuda (1624–1705), and the Yangzhou Eccentrics. The main body of the Freer scroll consists of ten poems in cursive script, composed and written by Xu Wei (also known as Xu Qingteng); the four-character frontispiece by Wu Tingyang constitutes the title of the scroll. The three lines of smaller calligraphy to the left of the title provide the date and Wu's signature:

In mid-spring of the twenty-third year of the Daoguang reign, Wu Tingyang viewed [this scroll by Xu Wei] at Hailing and wrote this.

From Wu's comment, we know that he wrote the frontispiece in 1843 when he was forty-five years old, twenty-seven years before his death. Compared to most of Wu's extant works, which are from a later period, the title on the Freer scroll may be considered one of his early efforts.

Wu Tingyang (also known as Wu Xizai and Wu Rangzhi) was a native of Yizheng,



Jiangsu Province. He was the pupil of the famous scholar-calligrapher Bao Shichen (1775–1855). Wu was a noted philologist, painter, master seal-carver, and calligrapher. In both flower painting and seal carving, Wu Tingyang influenced masters of the younger generation, such as Zhao Zhiqian (1829–1884) and Wu Changshuo (1844–1927). In his calligraphy, he excelled in all of the traditional script types. The later calligrapher and seal-carver Xu Sangeng (1806–1890), who specialized in copying the Tianfa Shencan stele, was greatly inspired by Wu.

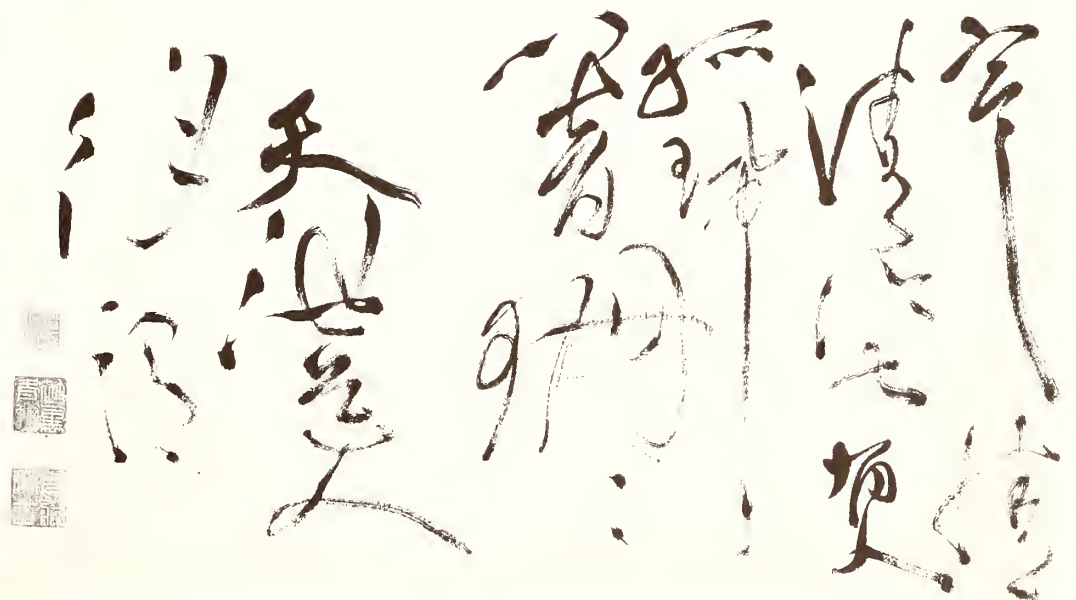
Unlike the frontispiece by Cheng Nanyun (cat. no. 10), which provides a title for the painting scroll *Seven Scholars Going through the Pass*, this frontispiece by Wu Tingyang identifies instead the calligrapher and the

content of the calligraphy handscroll. Usually, only an established calligrapher would dare to write a frontispiece—or be asked to write one—for a scroll by a master artist, particularly one by a master calligrapher.

Reference: Fu and Nakata 1981–83, *Ming Qing*, vol. 2, pl. 109, pp. 185–86.



Fig. 7. Detail from rubbing of the Tianfa Shencan stele.



detail from Xu Wei's scroll

seal script

by Wu Tingyang (1799–1870)

China, Qing dynasty; 1843

handscroll; ink on paper

height 31.7 cm (12½ in); length 95.6 cm (37¾ in)

80.3

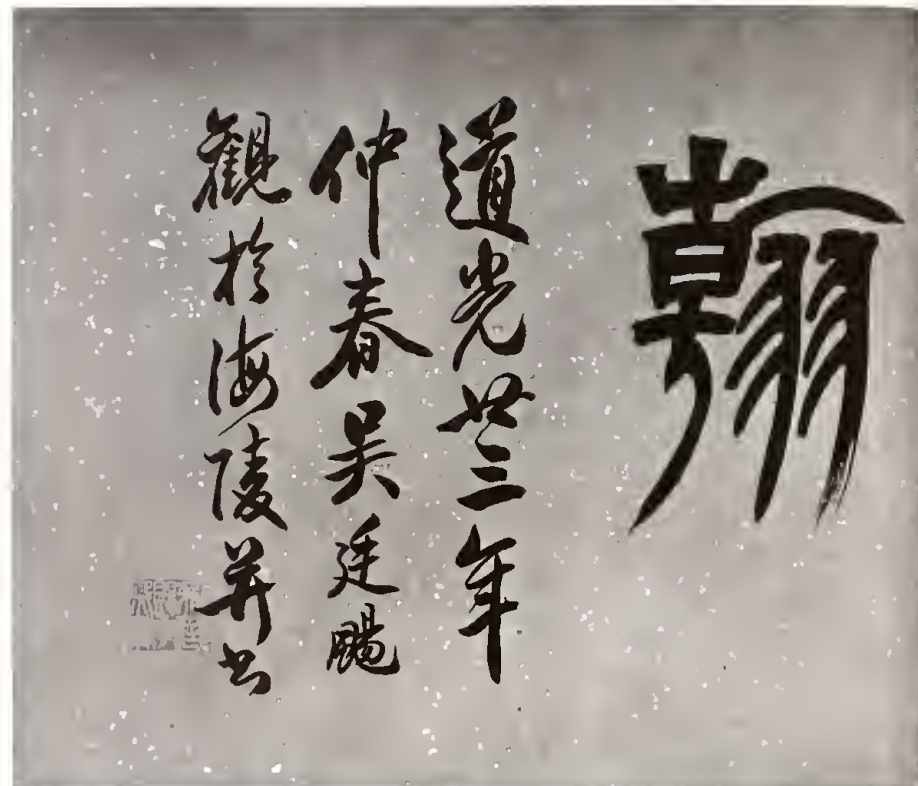
Four large characters forming this frontispiece are written in a special type of seal script. In writing the characters, Wu Tingyang began the individual strokes with squarish heads and then ended some of the strokes with long, sharp tails. These characteristics, together with the calligrapher's introduction of squarish corners to some turning strokes, are quite different from regular seal script. An explanation for the unusual script can be found in the Tianfa Shencan stele (see fig. 7), dating from A.D. 276, which was Wu Tingyang's model for the four characters. The calligraphy on the Tianfa Shencan stele dates from the transitional period between the fully evolved "clerical" and "standard" scripts. The new elements in the use of brush and in the composition of individual characters were introduced into the older "seal" script to achieve a unique calligraphic style. The historical importance of the script was recognized by scholars of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911); some late Qing antiquarian calligraphers, like Wu Tingyang, copied it.

The four characters on the frontispiece of this Freer handscroll may be translated as "The writing of poetry by Qingteng." Qingteng is one of the names used by Xu Wei (1521–1593), the renowned eccentric writer, poet, calligrapher, and, in painting, the precursor of Shitao (1642–1707), Zhuda (1624–1705), and the Yangzhou Eccentrics. The main body of the Freer scroll consists of ten poems in cursive script, composed and written by Xu Wei (also known as Xu Qingteng); the four-character frontispiece by Wu Tingyang constitutes the title of the scroll. The three lines of smaller calligraphy to the left of the title provide the date and Wu's signature:

In mid-spring of the twenty-third year of the Daoguang reign, Wu Tingyang viewed [this scroll by Xu Wei] at Hailing and wrote this.

From Wu's comment, we know that he wrote the frontispiece in 1843 when he was forty-five years old, twenty-seven years before his death. Compared to most of Wu's extant works, which are from a later period, the title on the Freer scroll may be considered one of his early efforts.

Wu Tingyang (also known as Wu Xizai and Wu Rangzhi) was a native of Yizheng,



Jiangsu Province. He was the pupil of the famous scholar-calligrapher Bao Shichen (1775–1855). Wu was a noted philologist, painter, master seal-carver, and calligrapher. In both flower painting and seal carving, Wu Tingyang influenced masters of the younger generation, such as Zhao Zhiqian (1829–1884) and Wu Changshuo (1844–1927). In his calligraphy, he excelled in all of the traditional script types. The later calligrapher and seal-carver Xu Sangeng (1806–1890), who specialized in copying the Tianfa Shencan stele, was greatly inspired by Wu.

Unlike the frontispiece by Cheng Nanyun (cat. no. 10), which provides a title for the painting scroll *Seven Scholars Going through the Pass*, this frontispiece by Wu Tingyang identifies instead the calligrapher and the

content of the calligraphy handscroll. Usually, only an established calligrapher would dare to write a frontispiece—or be asked to write one—for a scroll by a master artist, particularly one by a master calligrapher.

Reference: Fu and Nakata 1981–83, *Ming Qing*, vol. 2, pl. 109, pp. 185–86.

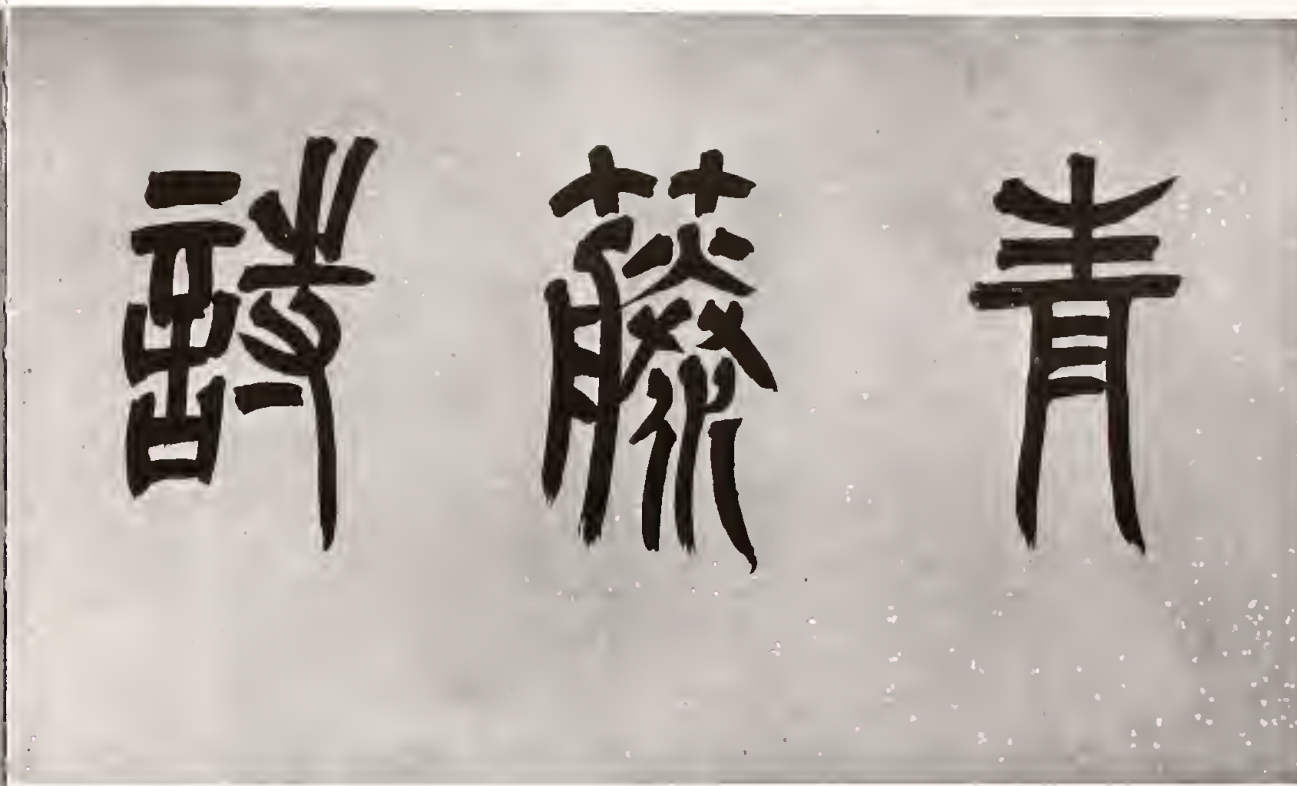
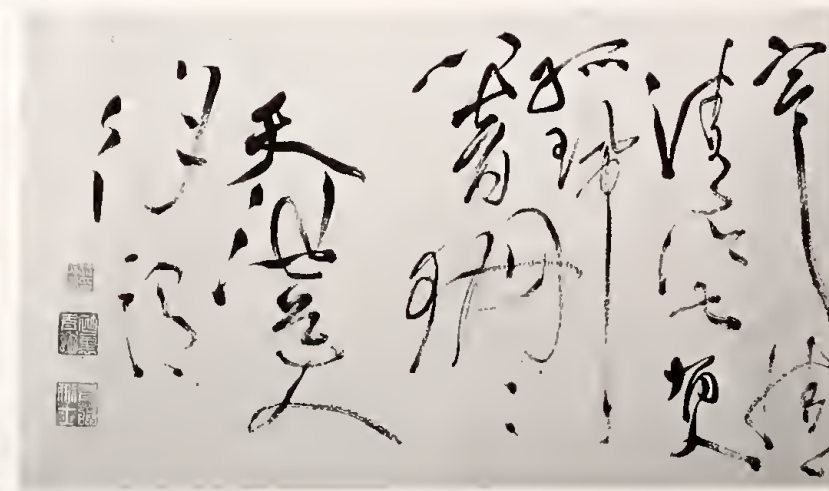


Fig. 7. Detail from rubbing of the Tianfa Shencan stele.



detail from Xu Wei's scroll

Japanese Calligraphy

In Japan as in China, calligraphy is appreciated as a fine art and a universal cultural value. Writing is considered to reveal not only the writer's skill and creativity, but also to embody and communicate his inner character. Although writing in Japan began from the Chinese writing system, the requirements of the unrelated Japanese language resulted in the invention of phonetic scripts having no counterparts in China. The cursive form of Japanese phonetic script (J: *kana*) became an artistic script of the highest order. Calligraphy in cursive *kana* (J: *hiragana*) evolved its own forms, techniques, and aesthetics and became one of the great national calligraphic traditions.

In the fifth century A.D., when the Chinese writing system began to be adopted in Japan, the major Chinese scripts all had been developed, and the basic tools and materials of calligraphy—brush, ink, paper, and silk—were already in widespread use. At first the Japanese concentrated on learning to read and write the characters and on studying the Chinese language with its new and complex vocabulary. During the period from the sixth to the eighth century, the use of Chinese characters became established in Japan, having been encouraged by the introduction and spread of Buddhism and the needs of a newly centralized government. By the eighth century, however, the Japanese had begun to alter their usage of Chinese characters to accommodate the need to write literature in their own language. Some Chinese characters, unaltered in structure, were used to denote sound only, rather than to signify their meanings in Chinese. The eighth-century anthology of Japanese poems, the *Man'yōshū*, was written in Chinese standard script, with some characters to be read for sound and others for meaning.

This cumbersome system was modified between the eighth and tenth centuries as the Japanese abbreviated Chinese standard script (J: *kaisho*; C: *kaishu*) and cursive script (J: *sōsho*; C: *caoshu*) to form more convenient and readily distinguishable phonetic symbols (*kana*), each representing one syllable of the Japanese language. *Katakana*, the phonetic script evolved from standard script, was used for practical purposes such as marking inflections in texts or transliterating words from foreign languages; its straight, unconnected lines did not suit it for artistic expression. *Hiragana*, the cursive phonetic syllabary, had evolved by the tenth century into a convenient and inherently graceful script preferred for letters, for the composition of Japanese poetry, and for the most private, nonofficial functions.

While Chinese continued to be the language of religious texts (see cat. no. 20) and official communication, the aristocratic culture of the late Heian period (794–1185), which was centered in the capital at Kyoto (then called Heian-kyō), turned away from China and suspended diplomatic contacts from 894 until the late twelfth century. During this period, Japanese styles evolving in all the arts reached a classic expression.

By the early eleventh century, cursive *kana* (*hiragana*) had become an

artistic script completely Japanese in character and expressive qualities; it was distinguished from Chinese calligraphy by the term *wayō* (Japanese manner). Cursive *kana* was particularly suited to writing the short Japanese *waka* (or *tanka*) poem of thirty-one syllables composed in lines of five or seven syllables.

The irregular line lengths and fluid relationships among the words in *waka* poetry allowed the calligrapher considerable compositional freedom. Indeed, one notable Japanese habit, already established in *kana* calligraphy of the Heian period, is the free disposition of lines of irregular length on the page. The writing descends from different levels, as if cascading over the surface of the paper, rather than beginning always at the top of a column.

Within the lines, variation of the forms of characters was provided by selecting the symbol from several that designated the same sound. In all, only about fifty symbols would be needed to represent the syllables of the Japanese language, but in *kana* calligraphy the number of symbols is much greater. Moreover, an occasional Chinese character could be selected for a text written predominantly in *kana*, thus providing a visual accent and break in rhythmic flow of the passage. When used in this way, the Chinese character would be read according to its Japanese pronunciation rather than by the Japanese transliteration of the Chinese sound.

The tradition of writing on dyed or decorated paper was well established in the courtly culture of Heian, and is most brilliantly exemplified by the exhibited page from the “Poems of Ki no Tsurayuki” (cat. no. 22) belonging to the dispersed volumes called *Ishiyama-gire*. Written on dyed and joined paper that forms an asymmetrical collage design decorated with scattered patterns in silver and gold, the page represents one of the most exquisite surviving examples of Japanese taste during the twelfth century.

Japanese poetry, calligraphy, and decorative taste are inextricably linked in the works of calligraphy in the Japanese manner. Usually, the calligraphy forms a superimposed and integral entity that is independent of the underlying decoration. At times, however, calligraphy merges with the picture and the two elements are fully interdependent so that one may not be understood without the other. The unity of picture, calligraphy, and poetry is nowhere more fully realized than in the poem-picture (J: *uta-e*), an invention of the Heian period that was continued in later times and translated to the medium of lacquer art. An outstanding example of a poem-picture is represented by the lacquer inkstone case (cat. no. 31). Such portable cases for writing equipment began to be used in Japan by the end of the Heian period and reflected the national preference for writing many informal and spontaneous brief letters or poems.

From the Heian period onward, two major currents of calligraphy, each with their own models, training, and critical standards, were practiced in

Japan. Chinese calligraphy continued to be respected, used exclusively for specific kinds of texts, and almost exclusively preferred by some groups of calligraphers. Japanese calligraphy continued to evolve, especially among the aristocracy. Neither mode, however, developed completely in isolation. When written in alternation or combination with Japanese *kana*, for example, Chinese characters were usually written in a harmonious semicursive style with simplified structures and compositions. Many of the most original calligraphers of Japanese *kana* benefited from study of both Japanese and Chinese models.

For centuries, lineages of calligraphers transmitting models and technical knowledge provided the basis for training Japanese calligraphers. Once trained, however, a calligrapher could evolve a personal style that would revitalize the tradition and inspire new followers. Emperor Fushimi (1265–1317; see cat. no. 25) was admired for his calligraphy, which established a new synthesis between the style of his training in the Seson-ji school and his study of the classic Heian-period model of Fujiwara no Yukinari (also known as Kōzei, 972–1027).

A particularly creative renaissance of the Japanese arts, including the Japanese mode of calligraphy, occurred in the early seventeenth century in the work of three master calligraphers known as the Three Brushes of the Kan'ei Era (1624–44) [J: Kan'ei Sampitsu]. Each in his own way responded to his study of past masterpieces to synthesize an original personal style. Both their calligraphic models and the poetic texts that they preferred came from the Heian period, by this time regarded as a golden age of Japanese culture. In the exhibited works by Konoe Nobutada (1565–1614), Shōkadō Shōjō (1584–1639), and Hon'ami Kōetsu (1558–1637), who comprised the Three Brushes of the Kan'ei Era, a new rhythmic and formal vitality enlivens the transcriptions of Japanese poems. Following the Japanese tradition handed down from the Heian period, the papers selected for their work are decorated, but a new style of bold and often innovative designs manifests a change in taste from the ephemeral delicacy of Heian decoration to a style that harmonizes with their more energetic interpretation of the Japanese mode of calligraphy. Especially in Kōetsu's long handscroll (cat. no. 28), the counterpoint of the script, with its varied density and tonality and the bold silver and gold printed motifs in the ground decoration, produce a dynamic interaction of calligraphy and decoration that is unparalleled within the Chinese calligraphic traditions.

Calligraphy in Chinese continued to be respected and to have an important place in Japan, at times becoming the preferred mode for certain types of texts. Sutras, the sacred texts of Buddhism, were always written in Chinese, following regular rules of composition and style (see cat. no. 20). Gold and silver inks are almost exclusively restricted to the writing of sutras. Also

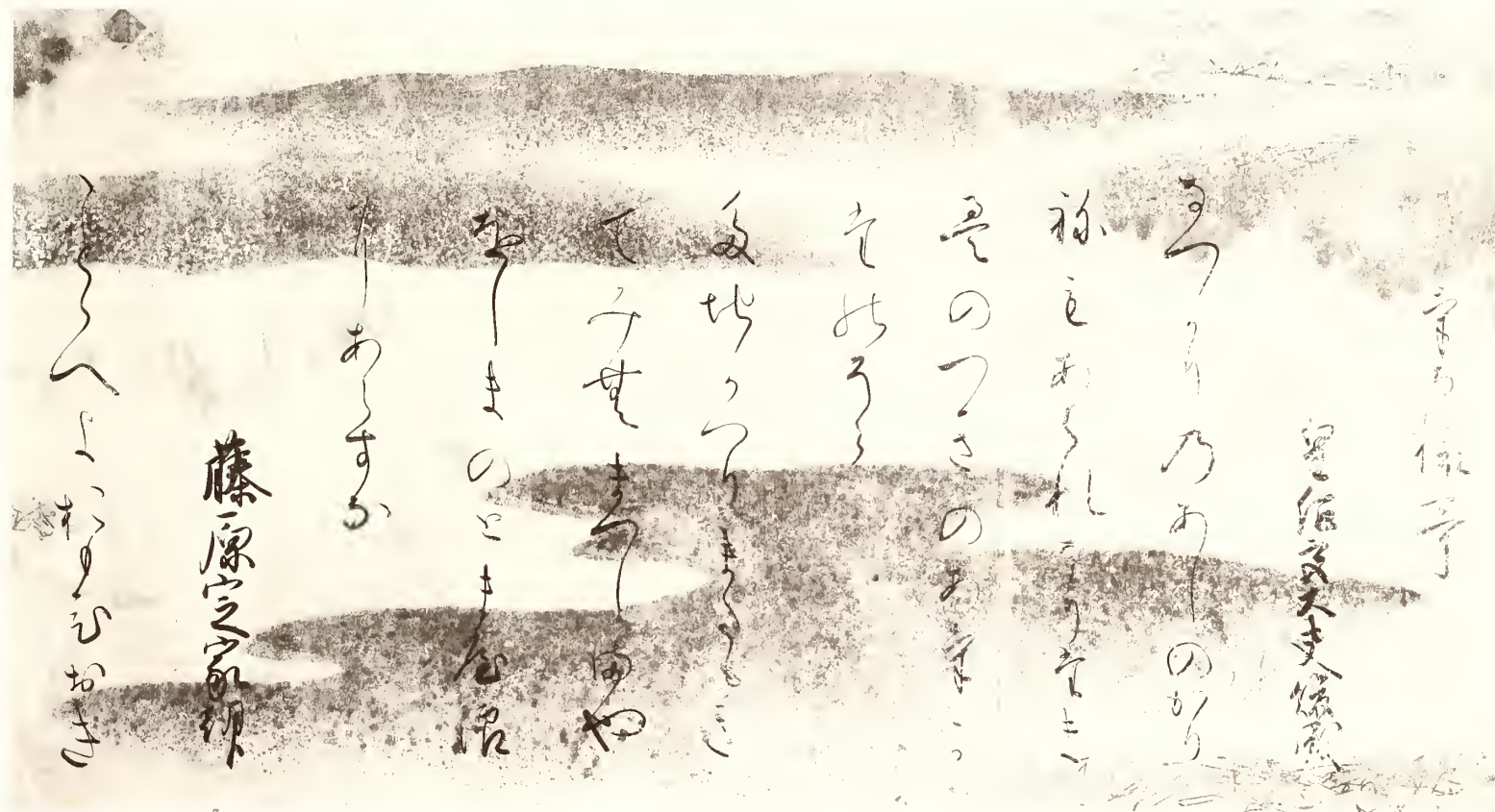


Fig. 8. Detail from handscroll, cat. no. 25. Calligraphy attributed to Emperor Fushimi, late thirteenth century. The two poems are by Fujiwara no Shunzei from the *Shin kokin wakashū*; ink on paper decorated with gold and silver.

limited to religious contexts is the use of Indian, rather than Chinese, scripts. One example of calligraphy derived from Indian sources is the *keman*, an altar pendant for a Buddhist temple (see cat. no. 21), which represents deities by the character for the first sound of their names.

Interruptions in Japanese cultural and diplomatic contacts with China provided an incomplete access to Chinese calligraphic styles. Moreover, an evolving Japanese preference for the works of certain Chinese masters distinguishes Japanese calligraphy in the Chinese manner as a separate stylistic lineage having its own national characteristics. Through the end of the Heian period, the calligraphic models for Japanese calligraphers were those writings or copies of writings by earlier masters that had reached Japan by the end of the ninth century. The work of Chinese calligraphers of the Song (960–1279) and Yuan (1279–1368) periods gradually became familiar to Japanese writers in the Chinese manner, after regular contact with China was resumed during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; Ming (1368–1644) calligraphy was introduced to Japan in the seventeenth century.

An important class of calligraphy in Chinese is known in Japanese as *bokuseki* (literally, “ink traces”), or writings by Zen (C: Chan) Buddhist monks. Because calligraphy is a direct, personal act, the traces remaining

from the brush of a great spiritual leader became in themselves an embodiment of his learning and character. Particularly in the Zen sect, which flourished in Japan from the twelfth century onward, when contact with China was resumed, the emphasis on direct transmission of its teachings from master to disciple endowed the writings of great masters with a special importance. Large-character inscriptions written for meditation became an important category of *bokuseki*. Included in this exhibition is one fine example (cat. no. 32) of *bokuseki* by Kōgetsu Sōgan (1574–1643), a prominent monk of the Kyoto Zen temple, Daitoku-ji. His writing in large characters revives a link to the work of early Zen masters that he might have studied through the great collections belonging to his monastery.

The history of the Zen sect is linked inextricably with Chinese literature and art. Many Chinese monks were members of Zen communities in Japan, especially in the founding generations of each of the three major sects. Their work, often unknown in China, is so thoroughly assimilated into the Japanese cultural identity that some of the calligraphic works of early Chinese Chan monks are designated in Japan as protected cultural properties. One example of calligraphy by a Chinese monk of the Ōbaku (C: Huangbo) Zen sect is included in the exhibition (cat. no. 33). An immigrant to Japan, Muan Xingtao (J: Mokuan Shōtō, 1611–1684) had a crucial role in the transmission of late Ming-dynasty calligraphic styles to Japan. Because of his residence in Japan, his work is regarded as integral to the history of calligraphy in Japan rather than in China.

In the Edo period (1615–1868), Chinese studies were encouraged by the policies of the Tokugawa shoguns. Within the context of scholarly study of Chinese history, literature, and philosophy reaching into a broader segment of Japanese society than in previous periods, the practice of Chinese calligraphy flourished and expanded. A new interest in archaic Chinese scripts such as clerical script (J: *reisho*; C: *lishu*) led to its use in Japan after a long period of neglect.

A group of painters also were inspired by the ideals of Chinese scholars (J: *bunjin*; C: *wenren*) to paint in a manner that was closely inspired by Chinese techniques. In calligraphy, too, they practiced Chinese styles, and adopted the Chinese custom of inscribing paintings to commemorate the occasions for which they were painted (see cat. no. 35). Like their Chinese counterparts, Japanese *bunjin* enjoyed gathering to share their mutual interests, and would often add their inscriptions to paintings by their colleagues.

In the millennium since the evolution of a distinct Japanese mode of writing, the Japanese and Chinese modes have been studied and practiced by Japanese calligraphers. Their rich cultural heritage, which has not excluded new artistic ideas from outside their own borders, has produced unique and important calligraphic works of great beauty. This aesthetic achievement can

be appreciated in the most informal writing in the purely Japanese mode, such as the exhibited “sleeve-paper” inscribed with two poems (cat. no. 24), in the powerful large-character inscriptions written in Chinese by Zen monks, or in the remarkable synthesis from both traditions that was achieved by Nobutada (see cat. no. 27) and Kōetsu (see cat. nos. 28 and 29).

The calligraphic works selected for this exhibition, although few in number, present a representative range of works dating from the twelfth to the nineteenth century. Beginning with a Buddhist sutra and a leaf from one of the greatest secular calligraphic projects surviving from the Heian period, the exhibition includes works by later calligraphers in both the Japanese and Chinese modes. The calligraphers represent a cross-section of the Japanese cultural elite: Emperor Fushimi (see cat. no. 25), aristocrats (see cat. nos. 22–24 and 27), Buddhist monks (see cat. nos. 20, 24, 26, 30, and 33), and learned laymen (see cat. nos. 34 and 35).

The calligraphers are the carriers of a major artistic tradition that has continually renewed itself, even in modern times. Calligraphy remains a part of the education of every Japanese student, and a knowledge of its principles now extends broadly into all classes of society. Their preparation to respect and appreciate excellent calligraphy has ensured the continued vitality of a rich and unique cultural legacy.

References: Shimizu and Rosenfield 1984; Shimizu 1983; Fontein and Hickman 1970.

standard script

Japan, Heian period; late 12th century

handscroll; gold and silver on indigo-dyed paper

height 25.4 cm (10 in); length 449.6 cm (176⁵/₈ in)

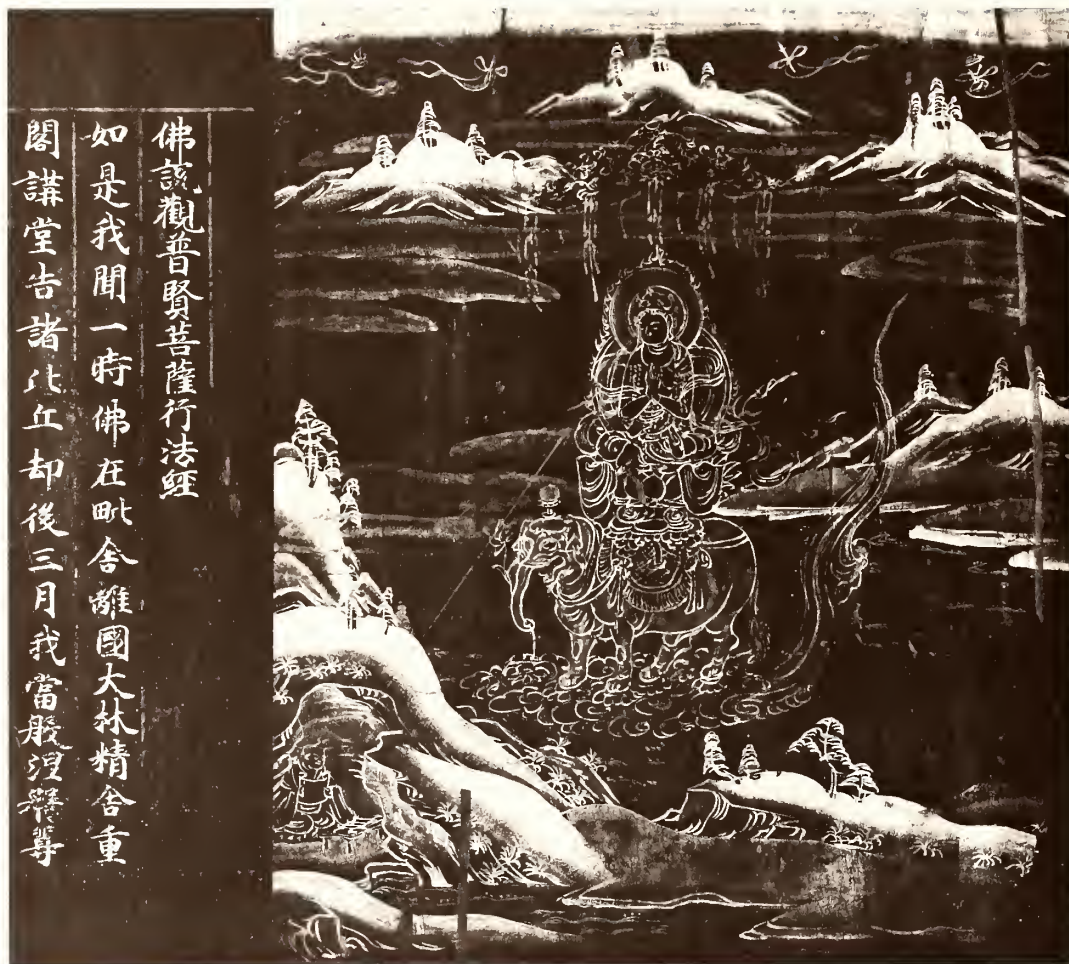
68.60

Sutras, the scriptures transmitting the teachings of the Buddhist religion, are intrinsically sacred. For the faithful, the writing or recitation of the sutra texts and the donation of materials and financial support for their production are acts of religious merit that bring protection in the present world and benefit for future existence.

Soon after its introduction to Japan from China and Korea in the sixth century A.D., Buddhism gained official support from the newly centralized government. Scriptoria were established for the copying of sutras, which required quantities of precious materials: paper, ink, knobs, wrappers, and fine storage boxes. The copying of sutras in the Japanese imperial or temple scriptoria was done by professional scribes who wrote Chinese standard script (J: *kaisho*; C: *kaishu*) in a formal, regulated manner that adheres faithfully to Chinese models, preserving the sanctity and efficacy of the text. Whether written by a monastic scribe or by a layperson as an act of piety, the text is transcribed verbatim, and individual variation of the writing style is held to a minimum.

During the Heian period (794–1185), under the patronage of aristocratic families, the quest for salvation through meritorious deeds encouraged the production of many sets of luxuriously decorated sutras, and the artistic quality of Buddhist sutras reached a high point that has never been surpassed. This handscroll belongs to a class of sutras written in gold or silver ink on paper dyed indigo or purple. Sutras of this type, often having illustrated frontispieces, were produced in Japan from the eighth century, following Chinese models. Thousands of scrolls written in gold ink on dark-blue paper are preserved in Japan from the great projects sponsored by emperors and aristocrats of the Heian period.

The *Kan-Fugen-bosatsu-gyōbō-kyō* (Sutra of Meditation on the Bodhisattva Fugen) is the final sutra appended to the twenty-eight-chapter *Lotus Sutra* (J: *Hokke-kyō* or *Myōhō-renge-kyō*; S: *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra*), which is customarily preceded by the *Muryōgi-kyō*. Vivid imagery and a promise of salvation made the *Lotus Sutra*, together with its opening and closing sutras, one of the greatest and most influential texts in East Asian Buddhism.



detail showing frontispiece illustration

This scroll matches an eight-scroll set of the *Lotus Sutra* that is kept in the Tōshōdai-ji, a Buddhist monastery in Nara.¹ Following established convention, the text is written in columns of seventeen characters each. The disciplined regularity of the gold characters written in Chinese standard script is given emphasis by the silver lines demarcating the margins and columns. The frontispiece illustration (J: *mikaeshi-e*) depicts the bodhisattva Fugen (S: *Samantabhadra*, the bodhisattva of Universal Virtue) riding his elephant as he appears to a monk who is reading a sutra from a handscroll. Rendered in lines and washes of gold and silver inks, the deity appears as a miraculous vision swiftly descending on clouds into the temporal world to fulfill his promise as protector of the *Lotus Sutra*:

In the latter five hundred years of the corrupt and evil age, whoever receives and keeps this sutra I

will guard and protect. . . . Wherever such a one sits, pondering this sutra, I will at once again mount the six-tusked white elephant king and show myself to him. Thereupon, he who receives and keeps, reads and recites the Law-Flower Sutra [Lotus Sutra] on seeing me will greatly rejoice and renew his zeal.²

1. Yoshiaki Shimizu (1981), unpublished curatorial records for acc. no. 68.60, Office of the Registrar, Freer Gallery of Art.

2. *Lotus Sutra*, chapter XXVIII. *The Threefold Lotus Sutra*, translated by Bunnō Katō, Yoshirō Tamura, and Kōjirō Miyasaka, with revisions by W. E. Soothill, Wilhelm Schiffer, and Pier P. del Campana (New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill/Kosci, 1975), p. 340.

Published: Hempel 1983, pl. 114, p. 122; Shimada, Akiyama, and Yamane 1979–81, vol. 2: *Emakimono*, pl. 107 and pp. 158–59; *FGA Handbook* 1976, p. 93; *FGA II: Japan* 1974, pl. 1 and p. 153; Shimada 1969, vol. 2, pt. 1, pl. 32 and vol. 2, pt. 2, pl. 46.

其華金色含而不敷見是事已復更懺悔至
心諦觀思惟大衆心不生廢見華即敷金色
金光其蓮華臺是甄鉢迦寶妙梵摩尼以為
華臺金剛寶以為華鬚見有化佛坐蓮華臺
衆多菩薩坐蓮華鬚化佛眉間亦出金色光
入象鼻中紅蓮華色從象鼻中出入傷眼中
從傷眼中出入傷耳中從象耳出照傷頂上
化作金臺當傷頭上有三化人一捉金輪一
持摩尼珠一把金對杵舉杵擬傷象即能行
步脚不履地躡虛而遊離地七尺地有尔大
於印文中千輻轂輞皆悉具足一一輞間生
一大蓮華此蓮華上生一化傷亦有七支隨
大象行舉足下足生七千馬以為眷屬隨彼
大傷傷鼻紅蓮華色上有化佛放眉間光其
光金色如前入象鼻中於傷鼻中出入象眼

21 Altar Pendant (*Keman*)

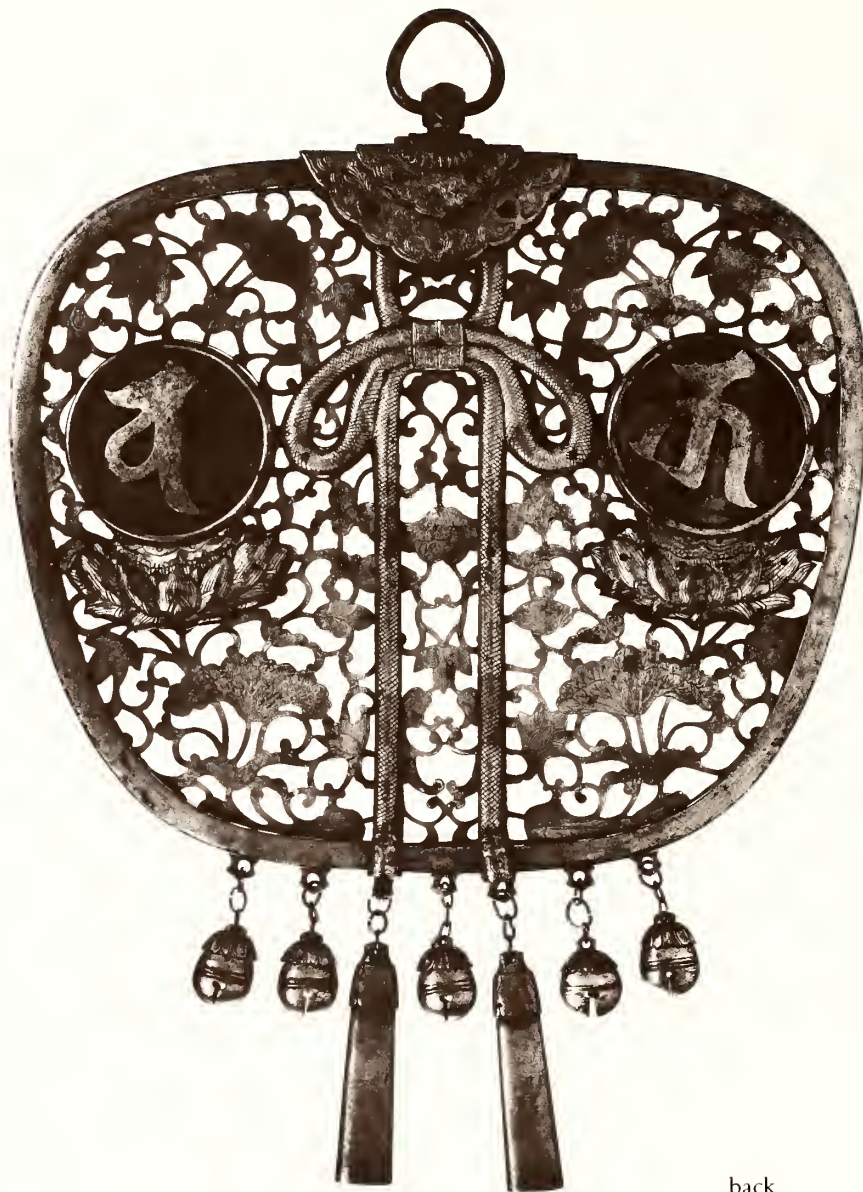
Sanskrit, Siddha script
Japan, Kamakura period (1185–1333)
bronze with gold and silver
height 44.5 cm (17½ in); width 31.4 cm (12⅜ in)
74.13

The *keman* is a pendant ornament that is suspended above the altar of a Buddhist temple. Made of lasting materials such as wood, painted leather, or bronze embellished with gold and silver, the floral scroll motifs and tied cords of the *keman* derive from the garlands of fresh flowers customarily offered to deities in India, where Buddhism originated. On this *keman*, executed in relief against openwork lotus scrolls, four individual phonetic characters in the graceful Indian script known as Siddha appear in gold, enclosed by silver circles surmounting pedestals in the form of open lotuses.

In Esoteric Buddhism (J: *mikkyō*), characters written in the ancient Indian Sanskrit language recalled the original teachings of the Buddha and were considered to be imbued with spiritual power. In Buddhist texts, which are written in the Chinese language throughout East Asia, the orthography of Sanskrit occasionally is used, especially for transliterating the syllables of magical incantations (S: *dhāraṇī*) or the mystical syllables or phrases (S: *mantra*) that were recited for spiritual union with a deity.

On sacred objects or paintings, a single written Sanskrit character may represent a Buddhist deity. The symbolic representation of the deity as a written character rather than in pictorial form is known in Japanese by the term *shūji* (S: *bīja*), literally meaning “seed character.” Implicit in this term is the concept of the manifestation of each deity from an essential force, or “seed.”

Each of the four Indian characters on this *keman* surmounts a lotus pedestal, paralleling the conventional iconographic representation of a deity seated or standing on a lotus dais. On the illustrated side of the pendant, the syllable “bhai” appears twice as the symbol for a deity whose Sanskrit name begins with that syllable. On the back of the pendant the characters “ba” and “kya” represent two other deities.¹ Implicit in this mode of symbolic representation of the deity is the belief that the sound of the recited name has the power to invoke the deity.



back

1. Three deities associated with protection may be represented by the syllable “bhai”: Bhaiṣajya-guru (J: Yakushi Nyōrai), the Buddha of Healing; Bhaiṣajya-rāja-bodhisattva (J: Yakuō bosatsu); and Vaiśravaṇa (J: Bishamonten). “Ba” represents Varuṇa (J: Suiten). “Kya” may represent Ekāadśamukha (J: Jūichimen Kannon) or Aśvaghōṣa (J: Memyō bosatsu). See Sawa Ryūken, *Butsuzō zuten* (Tokyo, 1962), pp. 281–84.

Published: Murray 1979, pp. 53–54.



22 Page from the Ishiyama-gire: Poems of Ki no Tsurayuki

cursive *hiragana* script

traditionally attributed to Fujiwara no Sadanobu (1088–1156)

Japan, Heian period; early 12th century

panel-mounted album page; ink, silver, and gold on assembled dyed paper

height 20.3 cm (8 in); width 16.1 cm (6⁵/₁₆ in)

69.4

Written with a long, slender brush, calligraphy in the flowing *hiragana* script that was developed during the Heian period (794–1185) for phonetic representation of the Japanese language reached a high aesthetic standard that was admired and emulated by later writers. The refined taste of the aristocratic patrons of the arts is expressed in the beauty of their writing and in the richly decorated papers produced to receive it.

This page is one leaf from a volume of poems that once belonged to a luxuriously decorated thirty-nine-volume transcription of the *Sanjūrokumin-shū* (Anthology of the Thirty-Six Poets), a collection compiled by Fujiwara no Kintō (996–1041). With the exception of two volumes sold in 1929, the set remains in the Nishi Hongan-ji, a Kyoto Buddhist temple. The separated sheets of the two volumes now dispersed are known as the *Ishiyama-gire* (Ishiyama Fragments), a name that comes from an earlier location of the temple in Osaka.

Although a few of the volumes in the set are later replacements, the surviving volumes from the original project executed in about 1112 are among the finest and most elaborate calligraphic works surviving from the Heian period. The project employed twenty accomplished calligraphers, each of whom wrote one or more volumes.

No effort was spared in preparing papers of outstanding quality decorated with a variety of techniques, including dyeing; printing with color and with mica powder; painting with silver, gold, and occasional color; ink marbling; applying silver or gold leaf; and assembling papers in a collage. Although some of the decorative techniques reflect the prestige of Chinese papers imported for calligraphy, others appear to represent a novel approach to the use of fine materials. Many craftsmen and painters must have been involved at great expense in the production of papers for the project. In the surviving volumes and fragments of this manuscript, the consummate skill of Japanese paper craftsmen and decorators of the late Heian period is most beautifully preserved.

The page in the Freer Gallery comes from one of the two dispersed volumes of the *Ishiyama-gire*: part two of the *Tsurayuki-shū*, the selected poems of Ki no Tsurayuki

(872?–ca. 946). It is a rare example of one of the most complex types of ornamented paper in the anthology. Another page was once joined to this one along the righthand edge, forming a unified design when the volume was open. Colored papers of purple, yellow, and white are cut or torn and joined along their edges to form a collage (*tsugigami*), then decorated with scattered patterns painted in silver and embellished with flakes of gold and silver leaf. The delicate silver motifs of insects, grasses, and leaves are typical of late Heian-period decorative arts, appearing also in other media such as lacquer. Strewn in an apparently random manner, they suggest the transient phenomena of the natural world.

The slender lines of poetry are written over this evanescent surface. They, too, are composed irregularly, with lines of different lengths beginning and ending at different levels. The two poems, numbers 603 and 604 in the anthology,¹ are in the thirty-one-syllable Japanese form called *waka* (or *tanka*). The first poem reads:

<i>Kinō made</i>	<i>One whom I met</i>
<i>Aimishi hito no</i>	<i>Until yesterday</i>
<i>Kyō naki wa</i>	<i>Is gone today,</i>
<i>Yama no kumo to zo</i>	<i>Swept away</i>
<i>Tanabiki ni keru</i>	<i>Like mountain</i>
	<i>clouds</i>

The second poem continues the theme of mourning for a lost friend.

The calligraphy of this volume is traditionally attributed to Fujiwara no Sadanobu, who was the fifth-generation head of the Seson-ji lineage of calligraphers that had its roots in the work of Fujiwara no Yukinari (also known as Kōzei, 972–1027). The Seson-ji lineage was the dominant carrier of the elegant style of Heian court calligraphy for more than five centuries.² The skill of a master calligrapher is apparent in the expressive control of the swiftly moving brush that results in vivid contrasts between the accents of ink at the beginning of each verse and the graceful, attenuated phrases that follow.

References: Egami Yasushi, unpublished colloquy, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., January 7, 1982; Shimizu and Rosenfield 1984, pp. 54–57; Kyūsojin 1966.

Published: Hempel 1983, pl. 131, p. 141; Shimada, Akiyama, and Yamane 1979–81, vol. 2: *Emakimono*, pl. 43 and p. 142; *FGA II: Japan* 1974, pl. 67 and p. 173.

1. Kyūsojin 1966, p. 152.

2. Shimizu and Rosenfield 1984, pp. 47–48; Komatsu 1970, vol. 1, pp. 181–230.



23 *Portrait of the Poet Saigū no Nyōgo*

from the Agedatami version of “Thirty-Six Immortal Poets”
 cursive Japanese *hiragana* and semicursive Chinese scripts
 calligraphy traditionally attributed to Fujiwara no Tameie (1198–1275)
 painting traditionally attributed to Fujiwara no Nobuzane (1176?–1265?)
 Japan, Kamakura period; 13th century
 segment of a handscroll mounted as a panel; ink and color on paper
 height 27.9 cm (11 in); width 51.1 cm (20½ in)
 50.24

This imaginary portrait of the poet Saigū no Nyōgo (929–985), inscribed with a brief biography and a verse of her poetry, is one of three segments in the Freer Gallery of Art from the Agedatami sequence of “Thirty-Six Immortal Poets” (J: *Sanjūrok-kasen*).¹ Originally in handscroll form, the Agedatami sequence, named for the raised mat on which each poet sits, is one of the two earliest surviving works depicting the poets themselves in association with their poems. Beginning in the literary and artistic circles of the court, the genre known as *kasen-e* (pictures of Immortal Poets) was continued for centuries, gradually reaching a wider audience and eventually becoming a subject for popular prints during the nineteenth century.²

The text to the right of the portrait begins with a biography, written in Chinese characters (*kanji*), the mode of writing that continued to be used in Japan for official or historical texts even after the development of phonetic *kana* scripts. The three lines of Chinese characters are followed by a thirty-one-syllable *waka* poem written in two lines of cursive *hiragana*:

<i>Koto no ne ni</i>	<i>With the sound of the koto</i>
<i>Mine no matsukaze</i>	<i>The wind in the pines</i>
<i>Kayourashi</i>	<i>Of the mountain peak</i>
<i>Izure no wo yori</i>	<i>Seems to ask</i>
<i>Shirabesome</i> ³	<i>With what note shall I begin?</i>

The strongly modulated calligraphy is one of three individual writers’ styles that can be distinguished in the sixteen surviving segments of the Agedatami scroll. In comparison to the others, the writing in this segment preserves some of the attenuated, flowing quality that is also seen in the page from the *Tsurayuki-shū* (cat. no. 22).

The Imperial Princess Saigū no Nyōgo is one of several women included among the Thirty-Six Immortal Poets, a reminder of the important literary achievements of women aristocrats during the Heian period (794–1185). In the painting, one of the

finest of all surviving poet-portraits, she is depicted reclining on a raised mat (*agedatami*). Her voluminous silk robes are worn in twelve layers, carefully selected for color and pattern, and her hair is worn long and unbound, cascading in another layer over her robes. On the panel behind her, a painting depicts the rounded hills of the Japanese landscape. In the foreground, her inkstone, brushes, and water-dropper are held in a lacquered case (J: *suzuribako*) that is decorated in silver and gold. Just visible beneath her billowing right sleeve are what appear to be sheets of decorated paper of outstanding quality, precious materials available only to writers of the highest status. In this small portrait that is really an imaginary re-creation of the image of a poet-princess, the luxurious world of the Heian court poet is faithfully preserved.

1. The other two segments, Freer Gallery of Art acc. nos. 50.23 and 50.25, respectively, depict Ōnakatomi no Yorimoto (885–957) and Minamoto no Kintada (d. 948).

2. Maribeth Graybill, “The Immortal Poets” in Shimizu and Rosenfield 1984, pp. 96–97.

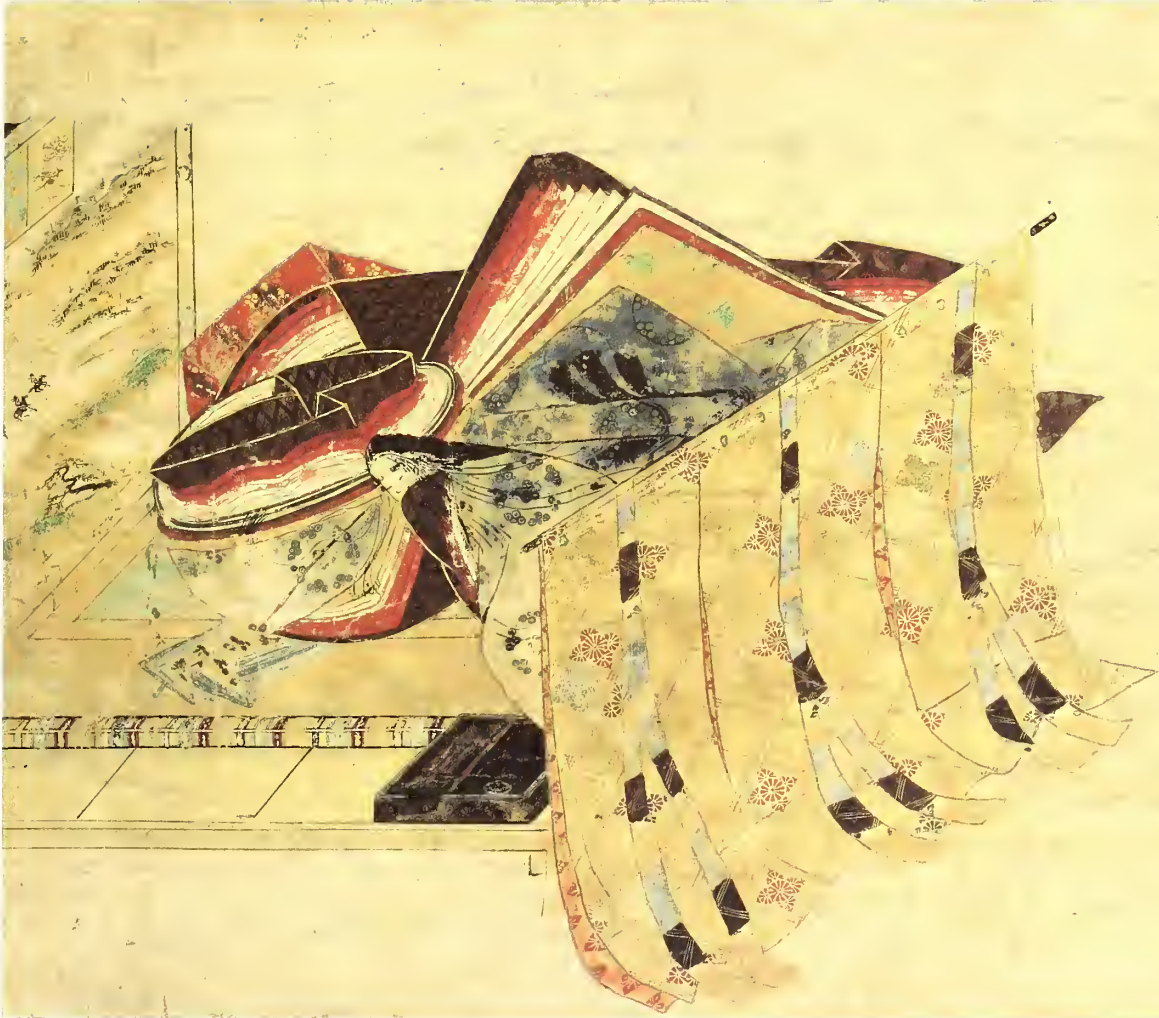
3. *Shūi wakashū* 451 in Watanabe Daizaburō and Watanabe Fumio, compilers, *Kokka taikan*, vol. 1: *kashūbu*, p. 63.

References: Maribeth Graybill in Shimizu and Rosenfield 1984, chapter 4, pp. 96–111; Maribeth Graybill, “Kasen-e: An Investigation into the Origins of the Tradition of Poet Pictures in Japan” (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1983).

Published: Shimada, Akiyama, and Yamane 1979–81, vol. 2: *Emakimono*, pl. 39 and pp. 140–42; Mori Tōru, ed., *Sanjūrokkasen-e*, vol. 19 of *Nihon emakimono zenshū* (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1979), pl. 4; *FGA Handbook* 1976, p. 99; *FGA II: Japan* 1974, pl. 10 and p. 154; Shimada 1969, vol. 2, pt. 1, pl. 46.

斎宮女御徽子

三品武部卿重明親王母貞信公女
六年九月成 八年以歳三品天曆三年女
御年二十歳仍号斎宮女御又取齋殿女御
おものゆふ年乃松風
いれのをとり



24 Poetry Offering to the Kasuga Shrine (*Kasuga kaishi*)

cursive Japanese *hiragana* and semicursive Chinese scripts
 by Jitsuin (act. ca. mid-13th century)
 Japan, Kamakura period; ca. 1243
 hanging scroll; ink on paper
 height 29.1 cm (11³/₈ in); width 43.1 cm (17 in)
 1984.35

Paper carried in the clothing so that it would always be ready for writing was called *kaishi* (“sleeve-paper” or “bosom-paper”). The aristocratic culture that had reached its fullest expression in the Heian period (794–1185) demanded that poetry be written frequently. The *kaishi* inscribed on these occasions were usually not intentionally preserved but were reused for other writing. In later times, however, the original writing on *kaishi* came to be appreciated by practitioners of tea, who had them mounted on scrolls for display in the tearoom.

The group of calligraphy referred to as the Kasuga *kaishi* was presented by various members of the Fujiwara family to their tutelary deities at the Kasuga Shrine in Nara. In about 1244 the sheets were put to use for transcribing the text of the eighth-century poetry anthology *Man'yōshū*, which was written on the back of the poem-offerings. Later, the calligraphy of the poetic offerings came again to be valued, and the sheets were separated from the books and remounted.

This sheet of paper shows the typically damaged condition of the Kasuga *kaishi* sheets, which resulted from the attempt to remove as much as possible of the *Man'yōshū* text from the back of the page before mounting it for display. Faint traces of the Chinese regular script characters on the back can be seen.

In elegant cursive *hiragana* script of a conservative style with direct antecedents in the Heian period are inscribed two thirty-one-syllable *waka* poems, entitled, respectively, “Beneath a Plum Tree” and “Spring Moon”:

<i>Furusato no</i>	<i>I am waiting to see</i>
<i>Mukashi no hana wo</i>	<i>The flowers of long</i>
	<i>ago</i>
<i>Machimitsutsu</i>	<i>In my old home.</i>
<i>Yuki kawashita ni</i>	<i>Beneath the plum,</i>
<i>mume no shita ka to</i>	<i>Has the snow</i>
	<i>transformed?</i>

<i>Miyoshino ya</i>	<i>Like lovely Yoshino²</i>
<i>Sakisou hana no</i>	<i>The flowers begin to</i>
	<i>bloom</i>
<i>Shira kumo ni</i>	<i>In a white cloud</i>
<i>Kakurete kasumi</i>	<i>The spring night's</i>
	<i>moon</i>
<i>Haru no yo no tsuki¹</i>	<i>Is concealed in mist</i>

Despite the damaged condition of the paper, the classic forms and gentle grace of the calligraphy can be appreciated. This poem-sheet attests to the high level of accomplishment achieved in calligraphy by many members of the Fujiwara family. The calligrapher Jitsuin can be identified as a priest of the Mii-dera (Onjō-ji).³

1. Readings for the Japanese poems were provided by Professor Yoshiaki Shimizu of Princeton University.

2. The scenery of Yoshino in southern Yamato Province is famous for its beauty in the spring, when the hills are covered with cherry blossoms.

3. Tōin Kinsada, *Sonpi bunmyaku*, vol. 1, in Kuroita Katsumi, ed., *Kokushi taikei* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kobunkan, 1977), vol. 43, pp. 147 and 149.

References: Shimizu and Rosenfield 1984, p. 64; Rosenfield, Cranston, and Cranston 1973, pp. 135–37.

詠二首和詩

里梅

實邦

少々里比正一入をる公

まらこ可、あまかたは一筆か

むらんれ

春月

あやのわらわふたねの

あやのわらわふたねの

あやのわらわふたねの

25 *Transcription of Poems from the Shin kokin wakashū*
(*New Anthology of Ancient and Modern Japanese Verse*)

cursive Japanese *hiragana*, semicursive and cursive Chinese scripts
 attributed to Emperor Fushimi (1265–1317)
 Japan, Kamakura period; late 13th century
 handscroll; ink on paper decorated with gold and silver
 height 29.8 cm (11¾ in); length 188 cm (74 in)
 76.7

On paper richly decorated in silver and gold, selected poems from the imperial anthology *Shin kokin wakashū* are inscribed. The semicursive and cursive Chinese characters and Japanese *hiragana* phonetic script are written fluently but are arranged sparsely, with relatively few connected characters. In comparison to other examples of calligraphy in *hiragana*, the relatively large and widely spaced cursive script of this calligraphy reveals a distinctive personal style.

The beauty of the writing is enhanced by the landscape design of clouds and sandbanks executed in gold and silver pigments and gold leaf cut to different shapes and applied to the surface of the paper. Birds and butterflies appear to hover in the landscape. The Japanese appreciation for the aesthetics of calligraphy written on paper decorated with an independent design was already well established among court writers of the Heian period (794–1185), and was continued and periodically revived. The landscape design in shimmering gold and silver, once brighter than it appears today, creates the illusion of dissolving the flat surface plane of the paper so that the written poems appear to float in space.

In the illustrated segments from the opening passages of the scroll are two *waka* verses of thirty-one syllables each by courtier Fujiwara no Ariie (1155–1216) and Priest Saigyō (1118–1206). The first verse is described in the headnotes as having been written at the Kasuga poetry competition, on the subject of the wind in the pines. Listening to the sound of the wind in the garden pines, the author wonders whether his sleeves are wet from tears or from rain.¹ The second poem expresses the lonely isolation of a priest who has renounced the world and longs for a companion.² Other poems transcribed in this selection are by Fujiwara no Shunzei (1114–1204), Fujiwara no Teika (also known as Sadaie, 1162–1241), and Fujiwara no Yoshitsune (1169–1241).³

The calligraphy is unsigned, but is ascribed to Emperor Fushimi, whose name appears on a red paper label for the scroll that was written, according to an accom-

panying certificate, by Emperor Gonara (1496–1557). Stylistically, the writing corresponds closely to the transcription of poems from the *Gosen wakashū* imperial anthology (compiled ca. 951), dated 1294 when Fushimi was a young man of twenty-nine.⁴ His writing at that time follows faithfully the style of Fujiwara no Yukinari (also known as Kōzei, 972–1027), whose writing in *sōgana* (cursive *hiragana*), with its graceful turns and loops, became a classic model for later calligraphers.

In time, however, Emperor Fushimi evolved his own calligraphic style that was admired by his contemporaries and by later writers. His study of the work of Chinese calligraphers of the Song (960–1279) and Yuan (1279–1368) dynasties influenced his writing. In comparison to earlier *sōgana* writings, in the work of Emperor Fushimi the sequences of characters are less connected, the forms more balanced, and the brushwork more vigorous. This scroll, with its luxurious decoration and beautiful writing, is an outstanding work by one of Japan's most accomplished imperial calligraphers.

1. *Shin kokin wakashū* XVII: 1636 in *NKBT*, vol. 28 (1958), p. 335.

2. *Ibid.*: 1657, p. 339.

3. Shunzei: *ibid.* X: 932–33, p. 207. Teika: *ibid.* X: 934, p. 207. Yoshitsune: *ibid.* X: 936.

4. Yoshiaki Shimizu (1979), unpublished curatorial records for acc. no. 76.7, pp. 13–15, Office of the Registrar, Freer Gallery of Art. Emperor Fushimi's transcription of the *Gosen wakashū* is published in *Juyō bunkazai* (Tokyo: Mainichi shimbunsha, 1976), vol. 18, calligraphy 1, color plate 8. A fragment known as Chikugo-gire is illustrated in Komatsu 1970, vol. 1, p. 621.

References: Shimizu and Rosenfield 1984, pp. 49–50 and 66–67; Yoshiaki Shimizu (1979), unpublished curatorial records for acc. no. 76.7, Office of the Registrar, Freer Gallery of Art.

Published: Yoshiaki Shimizu in Murray 1979, p. 56; Komatsu 1970, vol. 2, pls. 237 (1) and (2), p. 71.



detail

喜田平子令子松

風と云は乾し

有家朝

ついでに

も
の
な
と
し
ら
れ
り

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(*New Anthology of Ancient and Modern Japanese Verse*)

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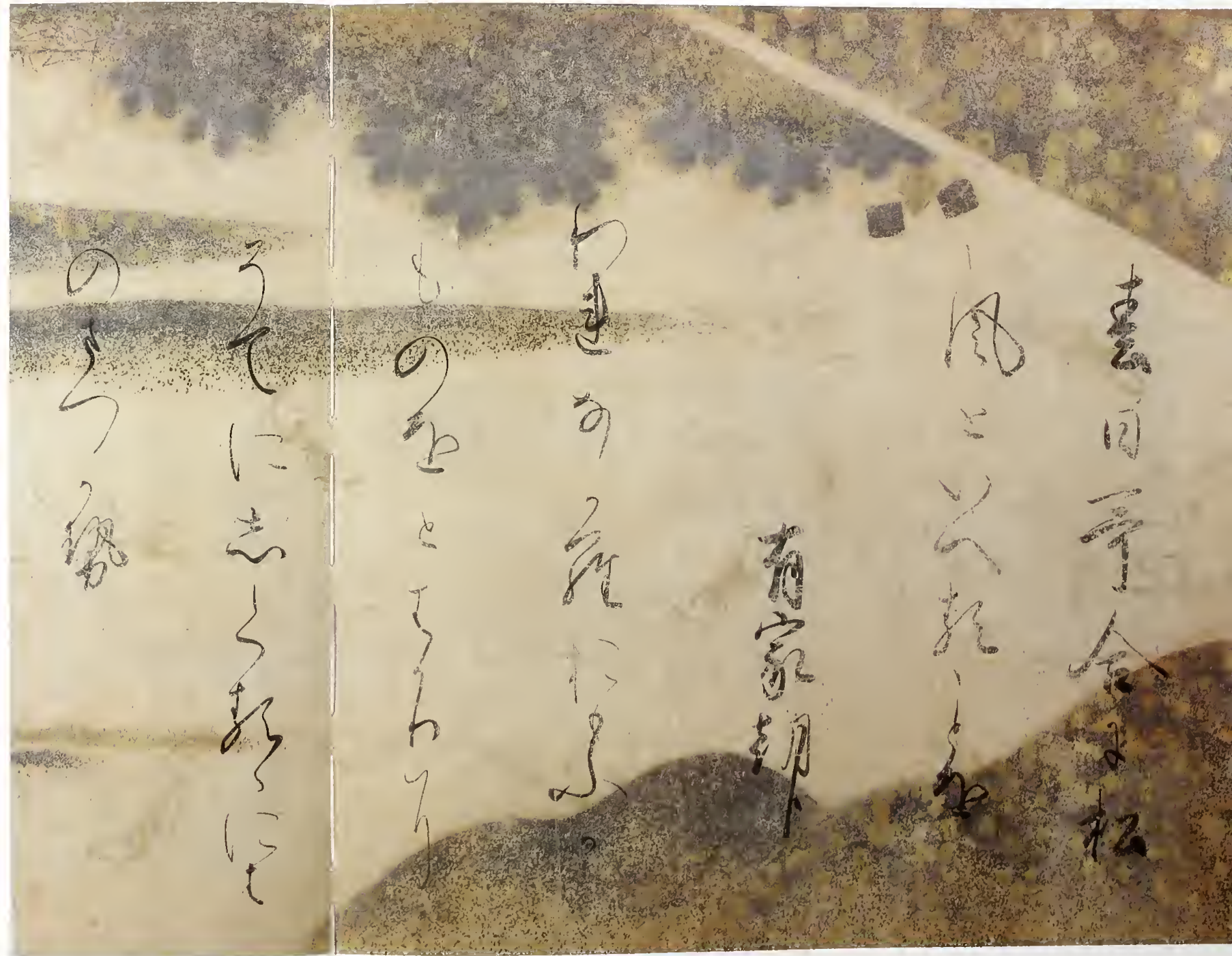
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detail

cursive Japanese *hiragana* and semicursive Chinese scripts
 by Shōkadō Shōjō (1584–1639)
 Japan, Edo period; ca. 1638–39
 handscroll; ink on paper decorated with gold and silver
 height 27.2 cm (10¾ in); length 516.6 cm (203½ in)
 81.1

The smooth, burnished paper (J: *gampishi*) of this long handscroll is decorated with irregularly placed bands of silver and gold suggesting clouds or mist. Although less elaborate than other illustrated examples of decorated Japanese paper, the ornamentation of this scroll reflects the Japanese tradition of writing poetry on beautiful papers that was transmitted from the Heian period (794–1185).

The calligraphy alternates between passages written in semicursive Chinese characters (J: *kanji*) and passages written in cursive phonetic Japanese *hiragana* script. The prose passages are written in *kambun*, a form of Chinese adapted to Japanese reading, whereas the poems selected to illustrate the critical essay are suitably rendered in phonetic Japanese. The broad brush strokes and regular spacing of the larger Chinese characters contrast aesthetically to the long, connected sequences of Japanese *hiragana*.

Eiga taigai (Essentials of Poetry),¹ probably composed in about 1209, is a guide to the composition of Japanese poetry written by Fujiwara no Teika (also known as Sadae, 1162–1241), whose critical writings and selection of outstanding verses became the standard by which all later Japanese poems were composed and judged. In the brief preface, Teika admonishes the poet first to consider originality of the emotions, then to study the great poems of earlier times. Among the works he advises studying are three imperial anthologies: *Kokin wakashū* (A.D. 905), *Gosen wakashū* (ca. A.D. 951), and *Shūi wakashū* (ca. 1005–8). In addition, he mentions the Anthology of the Thirty-Six Poets (*Sanjūrokunin-shū*) [see cat. no. 22]; the tenth-century Japanese poetic romance *Ise monogatari* (Tales of Ise); and the Chinese poetry of Bo Juyi (772–846).

In the final passage of the preface, Teika concludes:

*There are no teachers of Japanese poetry. But they who take the old poems as their teachers, steep their minds in the old style, and learn their words from the masters of former time—who of them will fail to write poetry?*²

In accordance with Teika's views on the primacy of the poems themselves as teachers, the preface is followed by 103 selected poems from various anthologies.

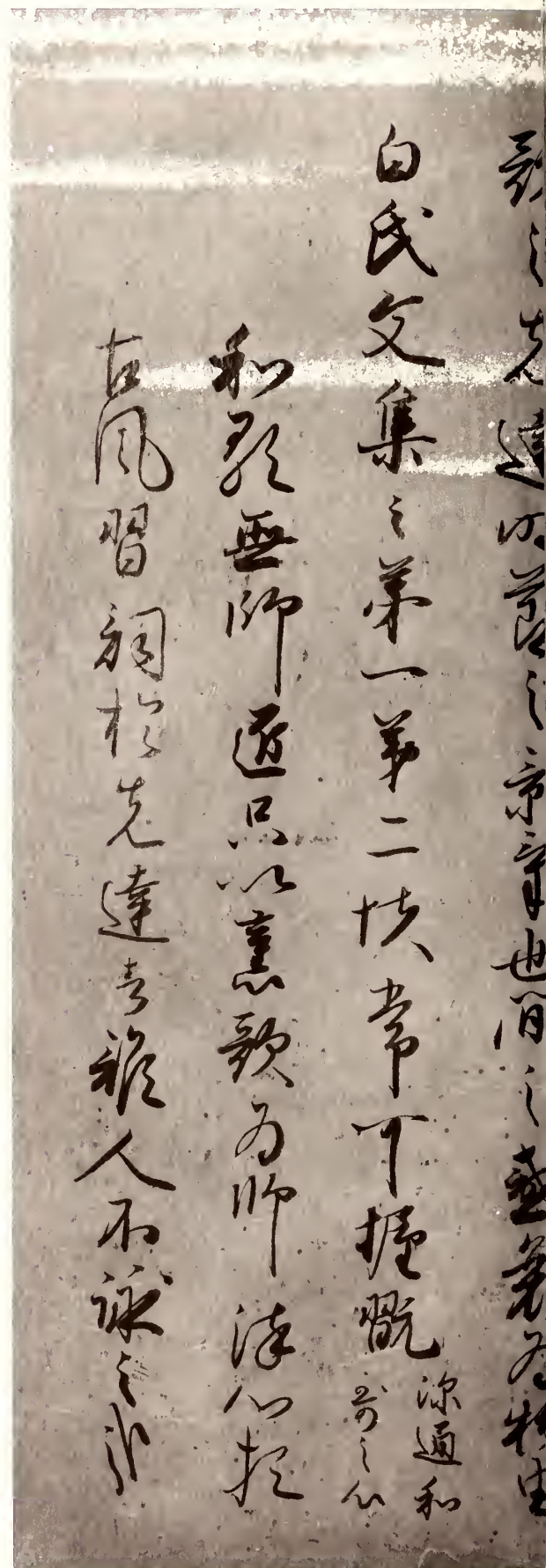
Like the texts he has chosen to transcribe, Shōkadō's calligraphy in this scroll, especially the cursive *hiragana* passages, is profoundly linked to models of the Heian period. Although trained in the mode of the Shōren-in school of calligraphy that was influential beginning in the fourteenth century, he turned in his later years toward the study of earlier calligraphy from the Heian period, when Japanese *hiragana* script had reached its classic form. His later *kana* calligraphy is stylistically close to Heian models such as the celebrated eleventh-century *Kōya-gire* manuscript of the *Kokin wakashū* that is associated with the master calligrapher Fujiwara no Yukinari (also known as Kōzei, 972–1027).

Shōkadō's calligraphy in the illustrated scroll corresponds stylistically to writings of his late years. His colophon at the end (far left) of the scroll indicates that he wrote it at the request of Hayashi Razan (1583–1657), a Confucian scholar who served as tutor to the Tokugawa shoguns. A letter to Shōkadō recorded in Razan's collected works thanks him for sending paintings and calligraphy, including this scroll. The letter dated in the fourth month of 1639 dates this scroll within the last year of Shōkadō's life, when he was living in retirement at a hut called "Shōkadō."³

1. The Japanese text of the *Eiga taigai*, with annotations, is published in *NKBT*, vol. 65 (1961), pp. 114–23.

2. Ryusaku Tsunoda, William Theodore de Bary, and Donald Keene, *Sources of Japanese Tradition* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1958), p. 180.

3. Yoshiaki Shimizu (1981), unpublished curatorial records for acc. no. 81.1, Office of the Registrar, Freer Gallery of Art.



detail

古歌に難歌

己川北山行とて久き月あはれや

久き月あはれや久き月あはれや

玉ほほめあはれや

此車全難何度不憚り

車あはれにまよふにや月あはれや

あはれにまよふにや月あはれや

此類難二句更不下録

常観念古よき京字下深心殊下見習

多古今伊勢物語後撰拾遺之十六人集

内殊三年歌下懸心

人丸貫く忠告

難非和

伊勢小所不義

cursive Japanese *hiragana* and semicursive Chinese scripts
 by Shōkadō Shōjō (1584–1639)
 Japan, Edo period; ca. 1638–39
 handscroll; ink on paper decorated with gold and silver
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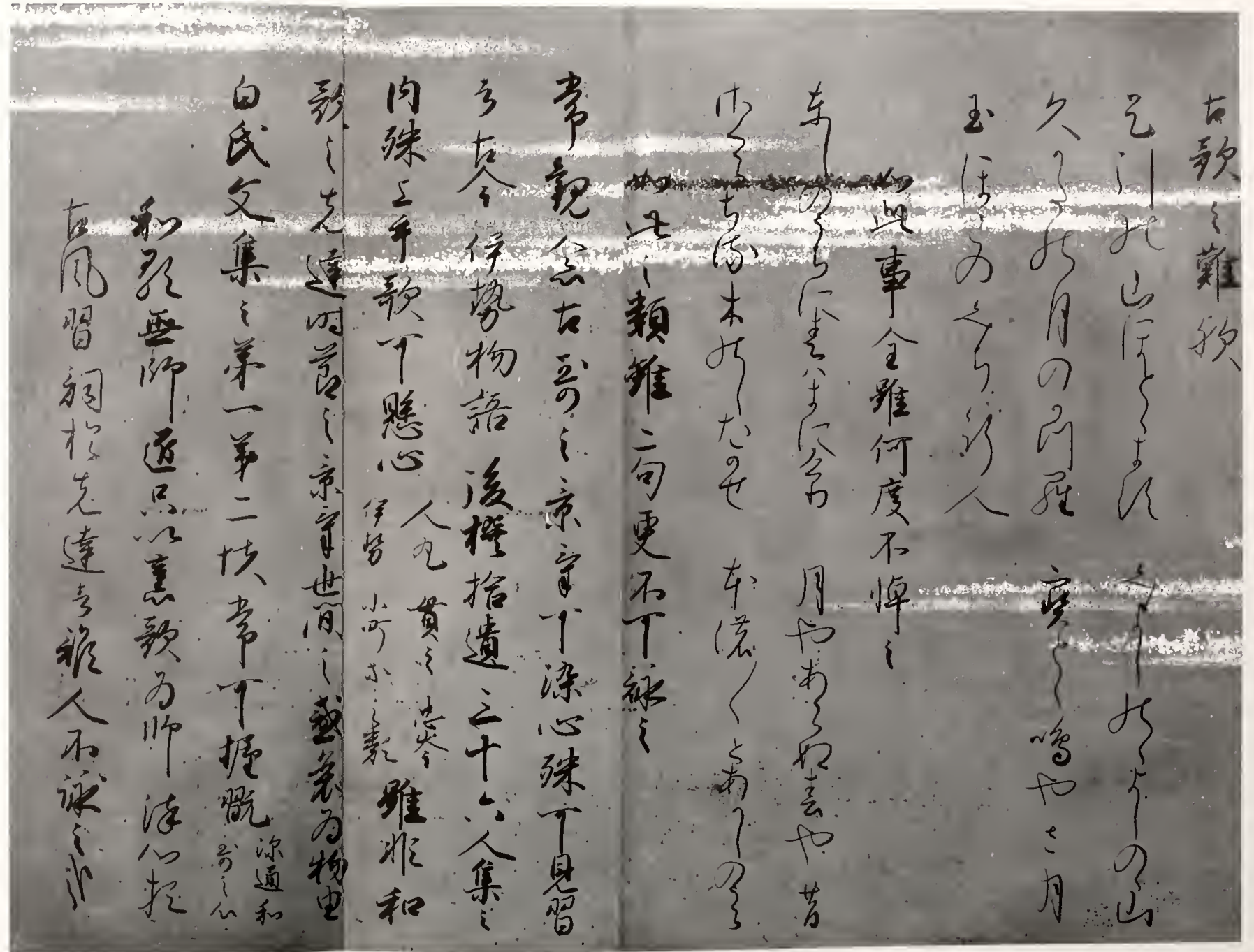
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detail

27 *Screen Mounted with Six Poem-sheets: Verses from the Wakan rōeishū*

cursive Japanese *hiragana* and semicursive Chinese scripts

by Konoe Nobutada (1565–1614)

Japan, Momoyama period (1573–1615)

four-panel screen; ink on paper decorated with gold and silver

screen: height 69.5 cm (27³/₄ in); width 46.2 cm (18¹/₄ in)

poem-sheets approximately: height 21 cm (8¹/₄ in); width 17.9 cm (7¹/₁₆ in)

81.16



Small rectangular sheets of decorated paper (*shikishi*) and narrow strips (*tanzaku*) were often used by Japanese calligraphers for transcribing individual *waka* poems. For preservation and enjoyment, these lovely small works were mounted on hanging scrolls, in albums, or on folding paper screens of various dimensions.

On this small folding screen, six *shikishi* from a former set of ten have been pasted. A label on the back of the screen notes that it was used when tea was served. A low screen placed on the *tatami* matted floor where guests and host would sit has the dual function of defining an intimate space within a larger room and of making that space an aesthetically pleasing environment, suitable to the occasion.

Three of the poem-sheets (the first, fourth, and sixth, reading from the right) have calligraphy in semicursive Chinese characters, distinguishable by their broad brushwork and regular proportions and spacing. The other three sheets are written with cursive Japanese *hiragana* script—composed in relatively large scale—with an unusually wide spacing between lines. The poems are selected from a Japanese anthology of alternating Chinese and Japanese poems, the *Wakan rōeishū* (Anthology of Chinese and Japanese Poems for Recitation), compiled by Fujiwara no Kintō (966–1041). The alternating Chinese and Japanese poems in the anthology provide a text that

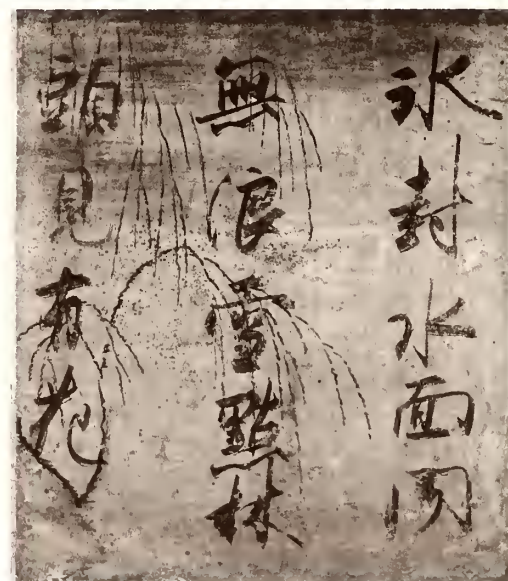
displays the proficiency of the calligrapher in writing the contrasting Japanese phonetic script and Chinese characters in close juxtaposition.

The identity of the calligrapher, Konoe Nobutada, is indicated by two labels attached to the screen. Born to a family of Kyoto aristocrats, a branch family of the powerful Fujiwara who dominated political and cultural life in the Heian period (794–1185), he was trained in the conservative calligraphic style of the Shōren-in school. In his later work, he achieved a dynamic and expressive style that distinguished him, together with Shōkadō (1584–1639; see cat. no. 26) and Kōetsu (1558–1637; see cat. nos. 28 and 29), as one of the Three Brushes of the Kan'ei Era (1624–44) [J: Kan'ei Sampitsu].

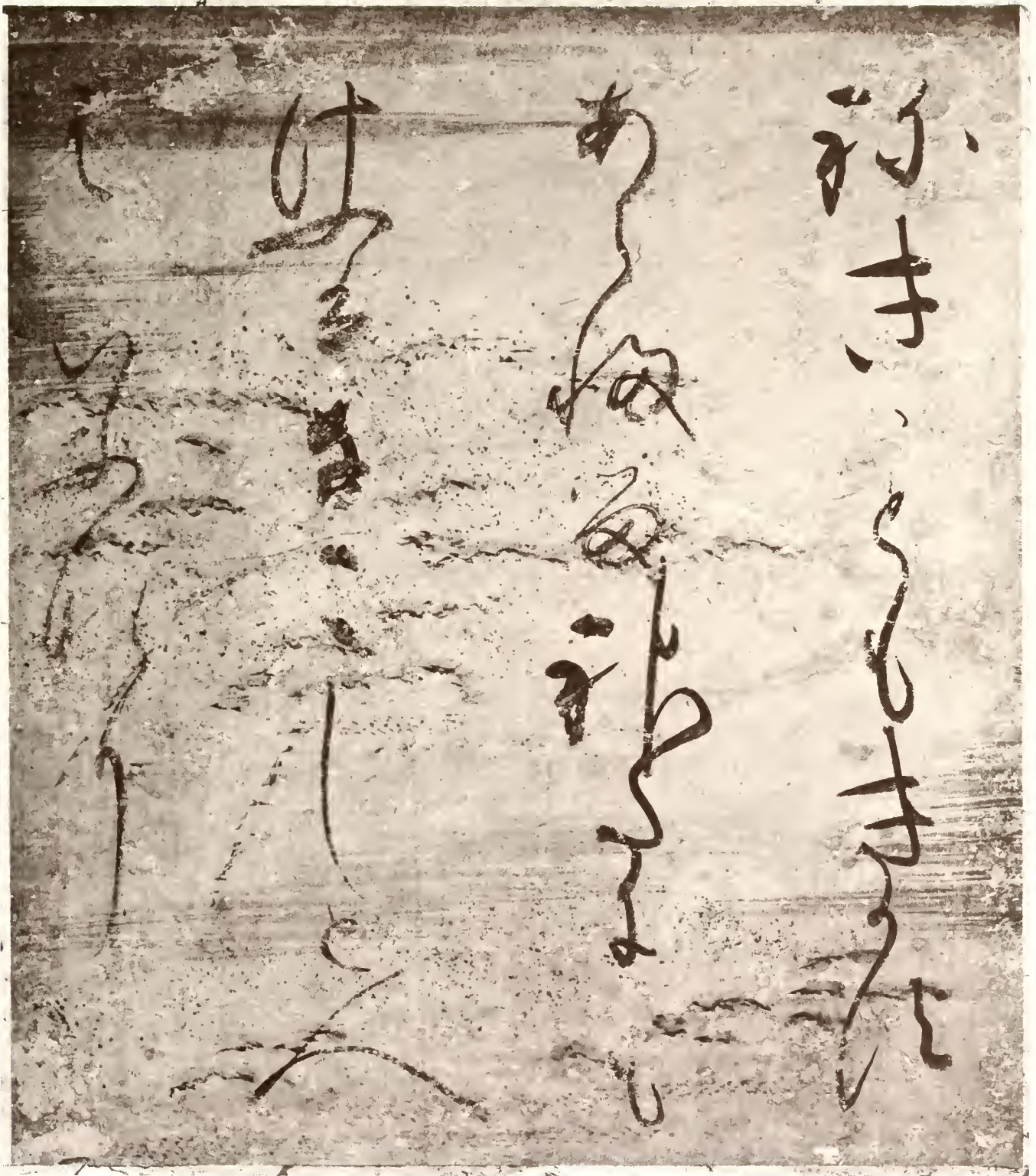
Like Shōkadō, Nobutada studied the work of a great Japanese master calligrapher, assimilating aspects of the master's style to create a distinctive personal synthesis. The dynamic style of Nobutada's later work shows the influence of his close study of the work of Fujiwara no Teika (also known as Sadaie, 1162–1241). From Teika's style Nobutada adopted the habit of holding the brush tip diagonally rather than in a centered position, the former being a technique that increases the contrasts between thick and thin brush strokes and emphasizes the changes of direction. Pronounced variations between spacious and narrowly compressed

compositions of individual characters is evident in both the Chinese and Japanese passages. The characteristics of Nobutada's mature style, evident in the six poems on this screen, were referred to in later times as the "Sanmyaku-in" mode, after Nobutada's posthumous Buddhist title.

References: Shimizu and Rosenfield 1984, pp. 204–5 and 212–15; Komatsu 1981; Yoshiaki Shimizu (1981), unpublished curatorial records for acc. no. 81.16, Office of the Registrar, Freer Gallery of Art; Komatsu 1970, vol. 1, pp. 46–78.



poem-sheet from screen; Chinese verse



poem-sheet from screen; Japanese verse

mixed scripts: cursive Japanese *hiragana* with cursive Chinese scripts

calligraphy by Hon'ami Kōetsu (1558–1637)

printed designs by Tawaraya Sōtatsu (act. ca. 1600–1640)

Japan, late Momoyama to early Edo period; early 17th century

handscroll; ink, gold, and silver on paper

height 33.0 cm (13 in); length 994.2 cm (430¹³/₁₆ in)

03.309

When purchased by Charles Lang Freer in 1903, the sheets of paper now attached in sequence to form a handscroll were mounted separately on a set of four sliding doors (J: *fusuma*).¹ A painting on the paper surfaces of the opposite sides of the doors depicts a large pond populated with mandarin ducks. In 1955, after recognizing that the sheets of calligraphy formed a continuous sequence, Dr. Harold P. Stern, then curator of Japanese art at the Freer Gallery, had them removed from the door panels and restored to form a handscroll.

Although there are a few slight losses at the edges of some sheets, the scroll preserves a consecutive sequence of poems selected from the imperial anthology *Kokin wakashū* (Anthology of Ancient and Modern Japanese Verse, compiled A.D. 905). The twenty-six poems are numbers 619 through 644 from Book XIII (Love Poems 3) of the anthology.² Since the first sheet of paper in the present scroll is very short, with only two lines of writing, it seems probable that the original scroll would have included the

three missing poems from the beginning of Book XIII. It is also possible that some additional poems may have followed number 644.

This long handscroll more than thirty-five feet in length is an important example of collaborative works with calligraphy by Hon'ami Kōetsu and underpaintings or printed designs in gold and silver by Tawaraya Sōtatsu. When executed in the handscroll format, the composite visual rhythms of underdesigns and cursive calligraphy that are revealed by the gradual unrolling of the scroll are remarkably effective. In no other works of Japanese calligraphy is the dynamic interaction of calligraphy and decoration so fully realized.

The designs on the mica-coated paper were printed by a special technique apparently devised for the papers designed by Sōtatsu for calligraphy. Carved woodblocks were liberally linked with dilute gold or silver pigment. Rather than registering the block along the edge of the paper, the printer varied the position of the block with

each successive printing, overlapping some motifs to simulate the effect of a painting. Liberal application of the gold and silver pigment resulted in a slightly irregular pooling on the surface of the paper as the block and paper were separated, an effect that simulates the tonal variation of color applied with a brush.

The pictorial designs of the scroll begin with a passage of dense grasses arranged in clusters along the lower edge of the scroll, followed by a long passage of vine leaves trailing from above. In the middle segment, a bamboo grove printed in silver fills the entire width of the scroll. Cranes in silver and gold soar upward toward the right as the point of view is directed toward the sky. The scroll concludes with a sequence of peonies seen from a close standpoint.

Over this luminous design with its dramatic and constantly changing patterns, the poems are written. Using cursive *kana* script in combination with selected cursive Chinese characters, Kōetsu freely varied the scale and composition of characters, the



detail

length of the lines, and their arrangement on the page. Rather than paralleling the compositional arrangements of the decorative motifs, the calligraphy establishes an independent cadence as the lines rise and fall, swell, and diminish to the faintest whisper of a single, slender syllable written at the lowermost edge of the page. Always conscious of the aesthetic character of the printed decoration, the calligrapher has responded with originality and imagination. In the passage of trailing ivy vines, a sequence of characters representing five syllables, "au koto no," is written in bold, highly abbreviated cursive script that descends from among the foliage as if it were a curling tendril of ivy. The sense of dynamic interaction between the writing and decoration is nowhere more apparent than in the passage where cranes soar upward toward the right in opposition to the descending lines of calligraphy progressing toward the left.

For his achievements in calligraphy, Kōetsu is counted among the Three Brushes

of the Kan'ei Era (1624-44) [J: Kan'ei Sampitsu], together with Shōkadō (see cat. no. 26) and Konoe Nobutada (see cat. no. 27). A master of many arts who was born to a family of sword connoisseurs, Kōetsu had a deep appreciation of craft techniques, which is evident in the original designs of papers he preferred for his calligraphy. From 1615, Kōetsu lived with a group of artists and craftsmen at Takagamine outside Kyoto.

Kōetsu's writing, characterized by pronounced variation in the width of line and of characters, strong internal rhythm, and expressive control of ink tone, reveals his close study of both Chinese and Japanese calligraphic traditions. His calligraphy ranks as one of the supreme achievements in the history of Japanese calligraphy.

1. Freer Gallery of Art acc. nos. 03.138-03.141.

2. For Japanese texts of the poems, see *Kokin wakashū* in *NKBT*, vol. 8 (1958), pp. 225-30. For English translations, see McCullough 1985, pp. 139-44; Laurel Rasplica Rodd with Mary Catherine Henkenius, *Kokinshū*:

A Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984), pp. 226-34.

Published: Shimada, Akiyama, and Yamane 1979-81, vol. 5: *Rimpa*, pls. 15 and 16 and pp. 125-26, *FGA Handbook* 1976, p. 118; *FGA II: Japan* 1974, pl. 37 and pp. 164-65; Shimada 1969, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 43 and pt. 2, pp. 60-61.

overleaf: detail, cat. no. 28



mixed scripts: cursive Japanese *hiragana* with cursive Chinese scripts
 calligraphy by Hon'ami Kōetsu (1558–1637)
 printed designs by Tawaraya Sōtatsu (act. ca. 1600–1640)
 Japan, late Momoyama to early Edo period; early 17th century
 handscroll; ink, gold, and silver on paper
 height 33.0 cm (13 in); length 994.2 cm (430¹/₁₆ in)
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A Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984), pp. 226–34.

Published: Shimada, Akiyama, and Yamane 1979–81, vol. 5: *Rimpa*, pls. 15 and 16 and pp. 125–26; *FGA Handbook* 1976, p. 118; *FGA II: Japan* 1974, pl. 37 and pp. 164–65; Shimada 1969, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 43 and pt. 2, pp. 60–61.

overleaf: detail, cat. no. 28



detail

Handwritten signature or name in a highly decorative, cursive script, oriented vertically.

Handwritten text in a cursive script, oriented vertically, possibly a name or address.

Small handwritten mark or signature at the bottom left.

Small handwritten mark or signature at the bottom center.



乃



乃
乃
乃

乃
乃
乃

乃

Handwritten characters on the left side, including a vertical stroke and a character resembling '子'.

Handwritten character '乃' (no) located below the large vertical stroke.

A large, prominent vertical calligraphic stroke, possibly representing the character '乃' (no) written in a highly stylized manner.

Handwritten characters '乃ハ服' (no wa fuku) written vertically on the right page.

Handwritten characters '乃ハ羊' (no wa yō) written vertically on the right page.

Handwritten characters '乃ハ' (no wa) written vertically on the right page.

Small handwritten characters '乃ハ' (no wa) located near a large ink blot on the right page.

29 *Thirty-Six Poem-sheets (Shikishi) from the Shin kokin wakashū*

mixed scripts: cursive Japanese *hiragana* with semicursive and cursive Chinese scripts
 by Hon'ami Kōetsu (1558–1637)
 Japan, Edo period; early 17th century
 pair of six-panel folding screens; ink on paper with gold, silver, and color
 screen: height 168.2 cm (66¼ in); length 375.7 cm (147¹⁵/₁₆ in)
 poem-sheets approximately: height 19.7 cm (7⁷/₈ in); width 17.4 cm (6⁷/₈ in)
 02.195 and 02.196

Thirty-six poem-sheets (*shikishi*) are pasted on a pair of screens over a painting that forms a continuous composition linking the two screens. Executed predominantly in gold with touches of color and ink, the painting depicts a bamboo blind facing a garden filled with peonies, autumn flowers, and grasses. Many of the flowers are executed in a relief technique known as *moriage*, in which areas are built up with white pigment under the surface gold.

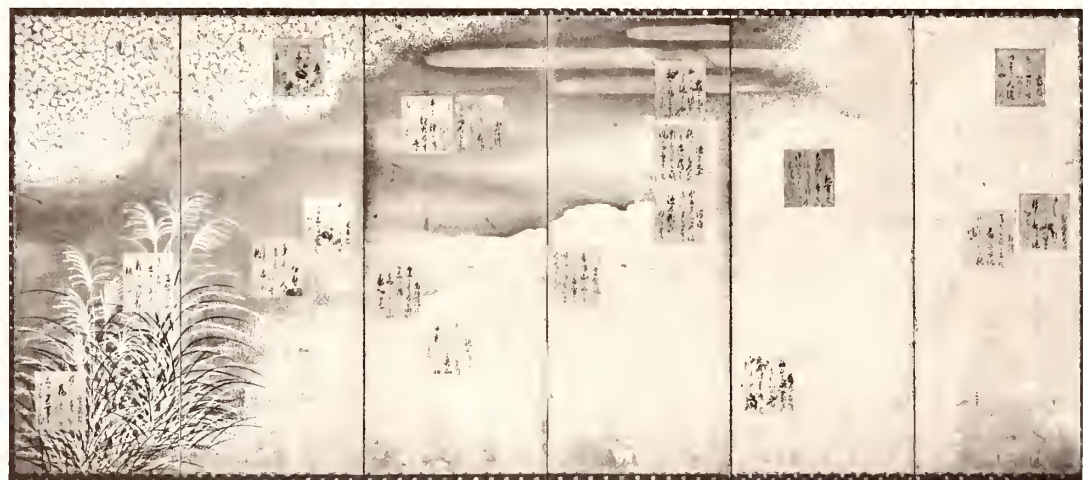
The thirty-six poems chosen for this screen come from the *Shin kokin wakashū* (New Anthology of Ancient and Modern Japanese Verse, compiled A.D. 1205). Each poem is written on a separate sheet of paper that is lightly colored, and painted with an individual design in gold and silver. The placement of the papers on the screens forms a visual pattern in itself, echoing in large scale the varied composition of the lines of cursive calligraphy. The relatively large and simplified forms of the painted motifs are close in style to those seen in collaborative works with underpaintings by Tawaraya Sōtatsu (act. ca. 1600–1649) and calligraphy by Kōetsu, to whom the poems on this screen are attributed on the basis of their style.

Among the surviving calligraphic works attributed to Kōetsu are many poem-sheets decorated with motifs in silver and gold that harmonize well with the strong forms of his writing. The verses of these poem-sheets, which often were made in sets for mounting in albums or on screens, are predominantly chosen from the *Shin kokin wakashū*, which Kōetsu considered to be unsurpassed in quality.

Kōetsu's writing reflects his study of Chinese calligraphy, including that of the Song-period scholar Zhang Jizhi (1166–1286). In writing Japanese *waka* poems, typically thirty-one syllables in length, Kōetsu freely incorporated Chinese characters, which vary the rhythmic flow and formal characteristics of the calligraphy. Even his cursive *kana* characters are written with pronounced modulations in the movement, angle, and pressure of the brush, which give his writing a dynamic quality that contrasts to the elegant classicism of his younger contemporary, Shōkadō (see cat. no. 26).



righthand screen, 02.195



lefthand screen, 02.196

The writing in this set of poem-sheets reveals a slight tremor of the hand, especially in the jagged outer contours of the broad, curved strokes where the brush tip was held at a pronounced angle while its direction was changed. This characteristic of Kōetsu's late works places the probable date of execution of these poem-sheets during the Kan'ei era (1624–44) when the calligrapher was about seventy.¹

Acquired by Charles Lang Freer (1854–1919) in 1902, this pair of screens² is one of several calligraphic works attributed to Kōetsu that come from Freer's collection (see also cat. no. 28). The presence of pure works of calligraphy in his collection is remarkable for a time when the art of

calligraphy was little appreciated by collectors in the West. For his devotion to Kōetsu, Freer was honored by the placement of a memorial on the grounds of the temple in Kyoto where Kōetsu's tomb is located.

1. Komatsu 1981, pp. 126–27.

2. Records from the time of purchase of these screens from the Japanese art dealer Matsuki Bunkyō (1867–1940) state that they were once in the collection of a retainer to Marquis Hachisuka of Awa (now in Chiba Prefecture).

Published: Komatsu 1981, pp. 65–66 and 126–27.

mixed scripts: cursive Japanese *hiragana* and cursive Chinese scripts
 by Kojima Sōshin (1580–ca. 1656)
 Japan, Edo period; dated 1652
 handscroll; ink on paper with gold and color
 height 29.2 cm (11½ in); length 708.8 cm (278 in)
 76.8

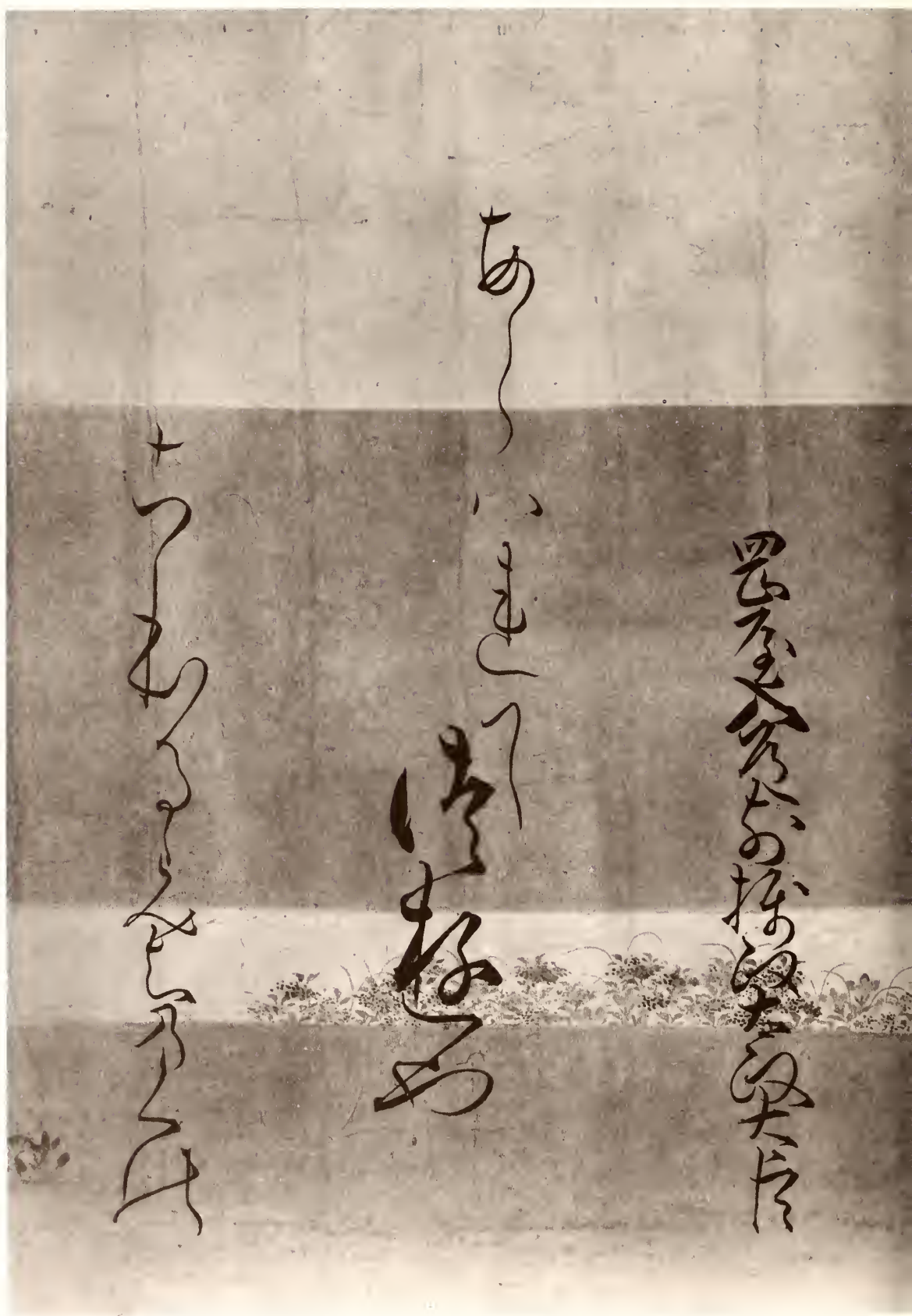
On paper decorated with detailed paintings of fields of flowers seen through bands of golden mist are selected Japanese poems, many of them originally composed for poetry competitions (*uta-awase*). According to conventions established in court circles of the Heian period (794–1185), those present at these gatherings would produce poems on a specified theme that would be critically judged in comparison to others composed for the same occasion.

The calligraphy by Kojima Sōshin, a disciple of Hon'ami Kōetsu (see cat. nos. 28 and 29), is written in a style that reflects Kōetsu's preference for writing Japanese poems in relatively large-scale cursive Japanese *kana* script combined with Chinese characters selected for emphasis. In comparison to Kōetsu's writing, however, Sōshin's calligraphy reveals his habit of holding the brush at an angle, a technique that concentrates the turns of the brush at the tip, thereby exaggerating the turns of the brush and the transitions between thin and thick strokes. Accents of dark ink appear more regularly than in Kōetsu's writing, and the relatively uniform tone reduces the expressive impact of the contrasts of dark and light that are characteristic of Kōetsu's writing. The rather loose, open structure of the characters combined with their looping forms gives Sōshin's writing a spacious, decorative quality.

Relatively little is known about the life of Sōshin, but like Kōetsu, he seems to have had close contacts among the skilled craftsmen of Kyoto, including the textile designer Ogata Sōken (1621–1687), who was the father of the artists Kōrin (1658–1716) and Kenzan (1663–1743). The minute and elegant decoration of this scroll is reminiscent of designs for fine textiles and for lacquer, both crafts that flourished in Kyoto. At the end of the scroll is a brief inscription giving the date as the eleventh lunar month of the first year of the Jōō era (1652). The date is followed by Sōshin's signature and two seals, and the calligrapher gives his age as seventy-three.¹

1. A similarly decorated scroll by Sōshin dated three years later is illustrated in the catalogue *Nihon no sho* (Tokyo: Tokyo National Museum, 1978), cat. no. 328.

References: Shimizu and Rosenfield 1984, pp. 262–63; Komatsu 1970, vol. 1, pp. 494–95 and vol. 2, figs. 1425–30.



detail

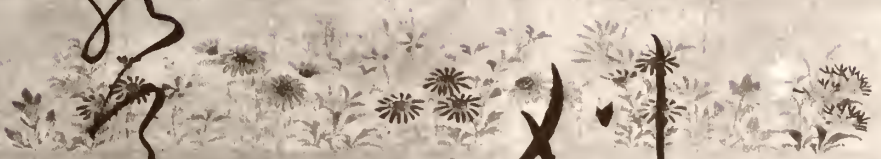
風吹

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mixed scripts: cursive Japanese *hiragana* and cursive Chinese scripts  
 by Kojima Sōshin (1580–ca. 1656)  
 Japan, Edo period; dated 1652  
 handscroll; ink on paper with gold and color  
 height 29.2 cm (11 1/2 in); length 708.8 cm (278 in)  
 76.8

On paper decorated with detailed paintings of fields of flowers seen through bands of golden mist are selected Japanese poems, many of them originally composed for poetry competitions (*uta-awase*). According to conventions established in court circles of the Heian period (794–1185), those present at these gatherings would produce poems on a specified theme that would be critically judged in comparison to others composed for the same occasion.

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detail



### 31 Inkstone Case (*Suzuribako*)

cursive Japanese *hiragana* script

by Masatsune

Japan, Edo period; early 17th century

lacquer on wood with gold and silver powders, inlaid silver, and metal binding on rims

height 5.0 cm (2 in); width 21.6 cm (8½ in); length 23.7 cm (9⅝ in)

44.22

In Japan, decorated lacquered boxes are customarily used to store and transport the materials needed for writing: inkstone, water-dropper, brushes, and ink. Made and decorated with precious materials at great expense, they were cherished and handed down as family treasures.

A poem-picture (*uta-e*) merging pictorial and calligraphic elements decorates the lid of this inkstone case. The silver forms of three syllables of *hiragana* phonetic script are concealed in the contours of the foreground rocks. When deciphered to form a word, *nezame* (to awaken from sleep), the characters provide a verbal clue that must be “read” with the pictorial imagery of the nocturnal autumn scene to identify a specific poem, in this case from the famous imperial anthology *Kokin wakashū* (Anthology of Ancient and Modern Japanese Verse), compiled A.D. 905:

|                          |                                                       |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>aki nara de</i>       | <i>They were but tears<br/>shed</i>                   |
| <i>oku shiratsuyu wa</i> | <i>upon my pillowing<br/>sleeve</i>                   |
| <i>nezame suru</i>       | <i>when I awakened—</i>                               |
| <i>waga tamakura no</i>  | <i>those transparent<br/>drops of dew</i>             |
| <i>shizuku narikeri</i>  | <i>straying from<br/>autumn's season.<sup>2</sup></i> |

KKS XV: 757<sup>1</sup>

All of the imagery of the poem is incorporated in the picture. Autumn grasses dominate the scene, as if the viewer, too, were among them. An open sleeve in the distinctively stylized form transmitted from earlier depictions of Heian-period costume (see cat. no. 23) is rendered in low relief to the left.

The poem-picture is a Japanese application of calligraphy that first appears in the arts of the Heian period. In the world of the Heian aristocracy, the composition and transcription of poetry was widely practiced, and such tests of expertise as the poem-picture were both amusing and challenging. The fusion of writing, incorporating only a few syllables of a whole poem, with the picture in *uta-e* presumes a detailed knowledge of classical poetry on the part of the viewer. The frequency with which poems from the *Kokin wakashū* are quoted by calligraphers indicates that for



base showing water-dropper, inkstone, and tray for brushes

many, its verses were familiar and fondly regarded.

Poem-pictures executed in silver and gold are especially prevalent in the decoration of lacquer *suzuribako* of the Muromachi period (1392–1573). This box is a rare example of an *uta-e* design on a lacquer object datable to the early seventeenth century. The maker, a master lacquerer, is identified only by the name, Masatsune, provided by a small inscription in seal-script characters beneath an inner tray. Characteristics of the design and technique suggest that the artist belonged to the Igarashi school of lacquerers, trained in Kyoto but later active in Kaga Province (modern Ishikawa Prefecture).

1. *Kokin wakashū* [KKS] in *NKBT*, vol. 8 (1958), p. 252, no. 757.

2. McCullough 1985, p. 167.

Published: Ann Yonemura, *Japanese Lacquer* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1979), pp. 38–39; Freer Gallery of Art, *The Arts of Asia at the Time of American Independence* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1975), p. 25; Alexander G. Moslé, *The Moslé Collection* (Leipzig, 1933), vol. 2, p. 34, no. 1683.





lid



standard script

by Kōgetsu Sōgan (1574-1643)

Japan, late Momoyama to early Edo period; early 17th century

hanging scroll; ink on paper

height 30.6 cm (12 in); width 90.5 cm (35<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in)

81.12



Mounted as a hanging scroll for display in the alcove (J: *tokonoma*) of a tearoom, this calligraphy presents a forceful image dominated by the two characters "tetteki" (C: *tiedi*), meaning "iron flute." Written with a large brush heavily laden with thick black ink, the characters have a monumental quality. The title may refer to a Chinese account of magical iron flute given to the blind fortuneteller Sun Shouyong (act. ca. 1225).<sup>1</sup> Following the title in smaller script is a Chinese couplet with the enigmatic text:

*A kind of sound which has infinite resonance  
Is audible yet inaudible.<sup>2</sup>*

The calligraphy is an example of *bokuseki* (literally, "ink traces"), calligraphy written by Zen (C: Chan) Buddhist monks, which reflects their disciplined character and spiritual devotion. In the Zen sect, which stresses transmission of teachings from master to disciple, the calligraphy of previous masters took on a special importance as a visible reminder of their achievements. Scrolls of calligraphy by prominent Zen monks were handed down within temples, from master to disciple, or exchanged among colleagues as a tangible embodiment of doctrine and community. The Chinese literature and calligraphic styles that formed the basis of their scholarly study were

transmitted by the founders of Japanese Zen monasteries during the twelfth to thirteenth centuries.

The inscription is followed by the calligrapher's signature, "Kōgetsu-sō sho" ("written by Old Kōgetsu"). The upper seal in the form of a Chinese bronze tripod reads, "Setsu kyaku" ("Broken leg[s]"). Below it is a circular seal reading "Tōzen" ("Eastward advance"), apparently a reference to the eastward advance of Buddhism.

The signature and seals identify the calligrapher as Kōgetsu Sōgan. The son of a famous tea master, he began his long association with the great Kyoto Zen-sect temple, Daitoku-ji, as a young boy. Ad-



vancing quickly in the religious order, he became abbot of the Daitoku-ji in 1610. He subsequently had a prominent role in the religious and cultural life of the early Edo period, associating closely with Emperor Gomizunoo (r. 1611–29) and with the second and third Tokugawa shoguns, Tokugawa Hidetada (1579–1632) and Tokugawa Iemitsu (1604–1651).

The calligraphy reveals a strong and confident personal style, grounded in the tradition of Daitoku-ji monks such as Shūhō Myōchō (1282–1337) and Tetsuō Gikō (1295–1369). The large-character inscriptions by Sōgan produced impressive

images suitable for display at a tea gathering.

1. *Sung shih*, chapter 462. See *Sung shih* (Peking: Chung-hua, 1977), vol. 39, p. 13533.

2. Translation by Yoshiaki Shimizu (1982) in unpublished curatorial records for acc. no. 81.12, Office of the Registrar, Freer Gallery of Art.

overleaf: detail, cat. no. 32





standard script

by Kōgetsu Sōgan (1574–1643)

Japan, late Momoyama to early Edo period; early 17th century

hanging scroll; ink on paper

height 30.6 cm (12 in); width 90.5 cm (35½ in)

81.12



Mounted as a hanging scroll for display in the alcove (J: *tokonoma*) of a tearoom, this calligraphy presents a forceful image dominated by the two characters "tettekī" (C: *tiēdī*), meaning "iron flute." Written with a large brush heavily laden with thick black ink, the characters have a monumental quality. The title may refer to a Chinese account of magical iron flute given to the blind fortuneteller Sun Shouyong (act. ca. 1225).<sup>1</sup> Following the title in smaller script is a Chinese couplet with the enigmatic text:

*A kind of sound which has infinite resonance  
Is audible yet inaudible.<sup>2</sup>*

The calligraphy is an example of *bokuseki* (literally, "ink traces"), calligraphy written by Zen (C: Chan) Buddhist monks, which reflects their disciplined character and spiritual devotion. In the Zen sect, which stresses transmission of teachings from master to disciple, the calligraphy of previous masters took on a special importance as a visible reminder of their achievements. Scrolls of calligraphy by prominent Zen monks were handed down within temples, from master to disciple, or exchanged among colleagues as a tangible embodiment of doctrine and community. The Chinese literature and calligraphic styles that formed the basis of their scholarly study were

transmitted by the founders of Japanese Zen monasteries during the twelfth to thirteenth centuries.

The inscription is followed by the calligrapher's signature, "Kōgetsu-sō sho" ("written by Old Kōgetsu"). The upper seal in the form of a Chinese bronze tripod reads, "Setsu kyaku" ("Broken leg[s]"). Below it is a circular seal reading "Tōzen" ("Eastward advance"), apparently a reference to the eastward advance of Buddhism.

The signature and seals identify the calligrapher as Kōgetsu Sōgan. The son of a famous tea master, he began his long association with the great Kyoto Zen-sect temple, Daitoku-ji, as a young boy. Ad-

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overleaf: detail, cat. no. 32















cursive script

by Muan Xingtao (J: Mokuan Shōtō, 1611–1684)

Japan, Edo period; 17th century

hanging scroll; ink on paper

height 137.5 cm (54 1/8 in); width 28.5 cm (11 1/4 in)

80.195

A single column of five widely separated cursive Chinese characters written with vigorous brush strokes gives a phrase that carries a number of meanings. It may be literally rendered, “The tip of the stick opens the true [or orthodox] eye.” The stick may be understood to refer to the stick used by Zen (C: Chan) masters in training their disciples.

In the single line of cursive script along the lefthand edge of the scroll, the calligrapher identifies himself as “The thirty-third generation after Rinzai [C: Linji], Ōbaku Mokuan [C: Huangbo Muan].” The signature is followed by two seals. The upper intaglio seal reads, “Shaku-kai tō in [Seal of Ordained Monk (Shōtō)].” The lower seal carved in relief reads, “Mokuan shi.” In the upper right corner is another seal, reading, “Hōgai gakushi.”

Muan, better known by the Japanese form of his name as Mokuan, was a Chinese monk of the Rinzaï sect of Zen Buddhism who resided in Japan from 1655 until the end of his life. He joined other Chinese and Japanese monks in the Ōbaku (C: Huangbo) sect of Zen Buddhism that established itself separately from the Japanese Rinzaï sect. He served for the last sixteen years of his life as an abbot of the head temple of the sect, the Mampuku-ji in Kyoto.

Exempted from the restrictions against foreign contact that were imposed by the Tokugawa shogunate, the Mampuku-ji had an important cultural role in transmitting the arts and learning of contemporary China to Japan. Like Mokuan, many of the early abbots of the Ōbaku sect were accomplished calligraphers. Their work was collected and handed down in Japan for its distinctive style that derived from that of late Ming-dynasty Chinese calligraphers. Calligraphy by Ōbaku monks influenced the evolution of Chinese calligraphic styles in Edo-period (1615–1868) Japan.

An excellent and productive calligrapher, Mokuan left many works. One other scroll by Mokuan, on the theme “emptiness,” is in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art.<sup>1</sup>

1. Freer Gallery of Art acc. no. 75.19. Published in Murray 1979, pp. 69–70.

References: Shimizu and Rosenfield 1984, pp. 112–21 and 164–65; Addiss 1978.



## 34 Chinese Couplet

cursive and semicursive Chinese scripts  
 by Gion Nankai (1677–1751)  
 Japan, Edo period; 18th century  
 hanging scroll; ink on paper  
 height 110.1 cm (43<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in); width 25.5 cm (10 in)  
 Gift of Dr. Kurt A. Gitter, in memory of Dr. Harold P. Stern  
 78.11

Two lines of fluently written semicursive and cursive Chinese characters express a sentiment of contentment in rural life, a metaphor for the ideal of Chinese scholars (C: *wenren*) who longed for freedom from their official duties:

*Cramped yet without hindrance in my thatched  
hut  
Content in poverty, I enjoy the scent of cabbage.*

Beginning in the seventeenth century a group of Japanese calligraphers and painters assimilated the artistic ideals of the Chinese scholar who wrote calligraphy or poetry or painted as an avocation to his official duties. Known as *bunjin* (literary men), they spread their ideas throughout Japan, giving rise to a creative movement in calligraphy, literary studies and practice, and painting that had as its basis the arts, language, and critical theory of China.

Gion Nankai, whose signature “Genyu,” a sobriquet, and seals<sup>1</sup> appear on the scroll, is considered to be one of the founders of Japanese literati painting. The son of a doctor who served the military rulers of Kii Province (modern Wakayama Prefecture), Nankai became a teacher of Confucianism. After a decade of exile from 1700 to 1710 for an unspecified offense, he returned to the provincial capital, where he continued to teach, and to study and practice Chinese painting. In light of Nankai’s biography, the text inscribed on this scroll takes on a poignant irony as it recalls not only conventional sentiment but also his personal experience of exile.

1. The upper intaglio seal beneath the signature reads, “Genyu no in.” The lower relief seal reads, “Kan fu jin sho sen saishu.”

References: *Bunjinga suihen*, vol. 11: *Gion Nankai, Yanagisawa Kien* (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1975); James F. Cahill, *Scholar-Painters of Japan: The Nanga School* (New York: Asia House Gallery, 1972), pp. 15–17.





### 35 *Branch of Plum in a Vase*

semicursive and cursive Chinese scripts  
painting and calligraphy by Tanomura Chikuden (1777–1835)  
Japan, Edo period; dated 1834  
panel-mounted hanging scroll; ink on paper  
height 31.7 cm (12½ in); width 22.5 cm (8⅞ in)  
76.1

An intimate and highly personal quality is embodied in this small painting of a withered blossoming branch in a vase with a cracked-ice pattern. Nearly balanced in visual terms, the calligraphy and the painting have roles of equal importance. Close in spirit and expression to Chinese literati painting, the work reflects the Japanese artist's remarkable assimilation of the ideals of the literati (J: *bunjin*; C: *wenren*).

The inscription, written in semicursive script, describes the circumstances that inspired the painting. The painter, Chikuden, whose signature and seal appears at the end of the inscription near the base of the vase, commemorates a visit with Zen (C: Chan) master Sōshin, whose company he enjoyed during a stay at a lodge in Kōriyama village in modern Ōita Prefecture. He describes their discussions lasting through the winter night, and recalls the image of the Zen master Sōshin seated beside the vase of flowering plum.

Like the calligraphy, the painting is executed swiftly and spontaneously. Swift, dry strokes of the brush sketch the form of the vase. On its sparse branches, delicate blossoms are depicted in threadlike strokes of pale ink. The simple image recalls the whole experience of Chikuden's discourse with the Zen master. The date given by the inscription, the fourth year of the Tempō era, first day of the twelfth lunar month, corresponds to January 10, 1834. Written and painted in the last year of Chikuden's life, the work assumes a significant place among the artist's oeuvre.<sup>1</sup>

1. One other painting by Chikuden bearing his own inscription is in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art (acc. no. 75.3).

偶遊連榻宿山部 冬天地氣溫  
對生終始行詩句  
反其為事 其多云 祇窗日晚  
桂孤燈幽也淡 煙氣  
灑斗室無人 澆且清 梅香  
瓶時坐為佳

素心禪師 同予宿於山部 二西矣 館來訪 西宿  
六日 賤此 題呈之 以對天 係四年 十二月 相也 并 田 志 憲





# *Introduction to Islamic Calligraphy*

*Through the qalam [pen] existence receives God's orders,  
From Him the candle of the qalam receives its light.  
The qalam is a cypress in the garden of knowledge,  
The shadow of its order is spread over dust.<sup>1</sup>*

These words written by Qadi Ahmad, a sixteenth-century Iranian artist and critic, suggest the remarkable importance that calligraphy held within the Muslim world. Invested with God's power, and as an instrument of his will, writing acquired a special status that no other artistic expression was able to attain. The nineteen Islamic objects in this exhibition reflect the range and variety of this calligraphic tradition. They date from the ninth century to the seventeenth, and come from North Africa in the west to India in the east. Included among them are Qur'anic pages, poetic manuscripts, individual calligraphies, metal and stone works, and ceramics. Although the writing on some of the objects was meant only to convey a specific message, on others it was intended to enhance their beauty. Often the two functions were inseparable. One Mughal historian noted:

*In the eyes of the friends of true beauty, a letter is the source from which the light confined within beams forth; and, in the opinion of the far-sighted, it is the world-reflecting cup in the abstract. The letter, a magical power, is spiritual geometry emanating from the pen of invention; a heavenly writ from the hand of fate; it contains the secret word, and is the tongue of the hand.<sup>2</sup>*

The capacity both to carry a specific message, or series of messages—some exoteric and others esoteric<sup>3</sup>—and to act independently of those messages, gives calligraphy a distinct quality. Moreover, because of its inherent flexibility, the use of calligraphy was not limited to two-dimensional surfaces or to certain types of objects. Although calligraphy's prominence makes it one of the most easily recognized aspects of Islamic art, it is also the most difficult to understand. The problem stems in part from the complexity of the languages involved—Arabic and to a lesser extent Persian and Turkish—and in part from the kind of aesthetic standards involved in responding to it. Arabic (a Semitic language), as opposed to Persian (an Indo-European language) and Turkish (a Euro-Altaiic language), is synthetic or inflectional, like Latin. Its alphabet, which is used with slight modification for Persian and Turkish, consists of twenty-eight letters, three of which can function as long vowels; short vowels are usually not recorded. Letters are generally linked to each other and have four configurations depending upon whether they are written alone or as the initial, medial, or terminal part of a word. The six letters *alif* ( ا ), *dal* ( د ), *dhal* ( ذ ), *ra* ( ر ), *za* ( ز ), and *waw* ( و ) can be connected only to the letters preceding them.

Given Arabic's unique role within the Muslim world as the bearer of the divine revelation, it is easy to see how calligraphy—the act of recording God's words as transmitted by the prophet through the Qur'an—became central to any artistic expression. It is equally apparent that the identification of the Arabic script with the Muslims during the first years of Islam led to a general association of the script with the culture at large, so that it became the most obvious element of the new faith. What is much less clear is how this process occurred and the extent to which a conscious set of controls was established to govern the shape, form, and articulation of the script. For instance, although it is possible to trace the evolution of Arabic from a relatively "free" script having no formal set of rules concerning diacritical marks and vowels during the eighth and ninth centuries (see cat. no. 36 and fig. 11), to a much more rigid script during the tenth and eleventh centuries, it is not at all apparent how the letters themselves achieved, in a matter of years, such uniform shapes. It is virtually impossible to distinguish between Qur'ans copied in North Africa and Iraq during the tenth and eleventh centuries and those copied in Iran.

Most studies of Islamic calligraphy have concentrated on historical questions. The important work of Nabia Abbott, Annemarie Schimmel, Martin Lings, Yasin Safadi, and Adolf Grohmann, among others, has created a substantial body of information concerning certain aspects of this phenomenon.<sup>4</sup> The following observations grow out of their work and are meant to suggest both the richness and the complexity of this material. From the ninth century on, if not before, there exist numerous documents, objects, and historical and biographical accounts that allow the development of calligraphy to be traced from *mail* and *kufic*—angular scripts initially associated with the copying of the holy Qur'an—to the evolution of a series of cursive scripts. Within this context three men are accorded special status: ibn Muqla, ibn al-Bawwab, and Yaqut al-Mustasimi. These calligraphers are generally thought by most historians of the subject to be the pivotal figures in a direct chain of transmission whose ultimate source was the prophet Muhammad.<sup>5</sup> Ibn Muqla (d. 940), a vizier to the Abbasid caliphs al-Muqtadir (r. 908–32), al-Qahir (r. 932–34), and al-Radi (r. 934–40) in Baghdad, is credited with standardizing and codifying the rules for beautiful writing based on the use of rhombic points for establishing the correct shape of letters. He is also considered to be the inventor of the six major cursive scripts, or manners of writing, used throughout the Muslim world: *thuluth*, *naskh* (or *naskhi*), *rihan*, *muhaqqaq*, *tauqi*, and *riqa*. Four more scripts, *ghubar*, *tumar*, *taliq*, and *nastaliq*, were later added to ibn Muqla's repertoire.

Although the differences between these scripts are often subtle, they are nevertheless easily discernible. *Thuluth* (which means literally "one third" and derives its name from the principle that a third of each letter should



slope) and *muhaqqaq* (which means “strongly expressed”), for instance, are relatively dynamic and monumental scripts with well-formed letters that emphasize vertical and horizontal movements (see cat. no. 41); *naskh* (which means an act of cancellation or of abrogation) uses smaller and more rounded characters that play on diagonal thrusts (see cat. nos. 38, 39, 43, and 53). *Riqa*, on the other hand, combines the qualities of both *naskh* and *thuluth* and has a densely structured system of short ligatures with the final letters of one word often linked to the first letters of the next. *Taliq* (which means to suspend or to hang) and *nastaliq* (which theoretically derives its name from the joining of *naskh* and *taliq*), in contrast to other scripts, have characters that appear to swing from the upper right to the lower left of each word as if suspended by an imaginary line. The light cursive letters of these scripts change abruptly from their maximum width to their minimum, and end in fine, razorlike points (see cat. nos. 45–52).<sup>6</sup>

Ibn al-Bawwab (d. 1022), who was also an illuminator, is believed to have perfected the manner of writing developed by ibn Muqla by bringing a sense of grace and elegance to the geometric harmony of the latter’s characters. He is especially noted for his perfection of *naskhi* and *muhaqqaq*. Yaqut al-Mustasimi (d. 1298), by inventing a way of trimming reed pens and clipping their nibs to form an oblique cut, helped establish new norms of beauty in writing.

Despite the importance of these calligraphers and the many manuscripts known from secondary sources to have been copied by them, there are almost no examples of writing that can be securely attributed to them. For instance, of the sixty-four Qur’ans and numerous secular works reputedly produced by ibn al-Bawwab, only one Qur’an, dated 1000–1001 and now in the Chester Beatty Library, is unquestionably by him.<sup>7</sup> Consequently, our knowledge of the work of these masters is at best cursory. Although this problem can be viewed as largely one of connoisseurship, it raises the issue of whether it is valid to look at the evolution of calligraphy as a linear development focused around these figures. This is not to say that one cannot—or should not—distinguish between the contribution of individual hands. Indeed, this is not only possible but is essential given the critical mass of material that exists from the fourteenth century on, both for the great masters, such as Mir Ali al-Tabrizi (ca. 1340–1420), Sultan Ali (1442–1519), and Shaykh Hamdullah (d. 1520), and those who are less well known. The question, however, is the extent to which information derived from this kind of approach is necessary to our understanding of Islamic calligraphy.

It can be argued, for instance, that the real issue is epistemological: what are the salient characteristics of the script that give it its unique character, and what are its operative elements? The distinction between Qur’anic scripts and ordinary ones as articulated by Abbott<sup>8</sup> is important here because it

suggests a basic division. Although certain kinds of script, such as *kufic* and its variations, clearly are reserved for specific functions, like the copying of Qur'ans or the embellishing of architectural monuments, it is not evident that the internal codes that guide their structure differ significantly.

Several characteristics of Islamic calligraphy give it a distinct quality. Among the most significant of these are the ability of individual scripts to be almost endlessly modified; the adaptability of the scripts to all kinds of surfaces, from parchment and paper to stone and metal; the integration of a variety of decorative motifs and forms into the schema of various scripts; and the “automatic” impact of the letters themselves. The twenty-eight characters of the Arabic alphabet are basically composed of three strokes: vertical, horizontal, and diagonal. Most letters, such as *kaf* (ك) and *sin* (س), are made up of a series of these strokes; others, however, like *alif* (ا) and *ra* (ر), are the result of a single stroke. By altering the length of the various components of each character, particularly the horizontal ones, calligraphers were able to change the appearance of a script without affecting its basic structure. *Kufic*, for instance, can be written either in an extremely compact form (see fig. 9) or in a much more elongated one (see cat. no. 36), depending upon the distance between the beginning and end of each letter. In addition, by manipulating the shape of certain letters, numerous variations can be developed on a standard script. In the western Muslim world, for example, the sharp, angular characters of *kufic* were given a more rounded form (see cat. no. 40). This is particularly evident in the vertical strokes and final flourishes of some letters that are turned into sweeping curves that plunge below the main line of the script. Similarly, by twisting, braiding, and ornamenting the ends and stems of certain letters, such as *alif* (ا) and *lam* (ل), a whole range of decorative features can be added to a script. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries this technique reached its most complicated form when a number of scripts, including *kufic* and *naskhi*, were radically transformed as letters were converted into human and animal shapes (see cat. no. 39 and fig. 11).

The inherent flexibility of the letters of the various scripts allowed them to be adapted to almost any kind of surface yet maintain their essential characteristics. Thus, the *kufic* and *naskhi* on the carved-stone building inscription (cat. no. 38) and the *naskhi* on the circular ornament (cat. no. 54) both have a fluidity of line as if they were written in ink on paper. Moreover, because the actual shape and size of most letters can be altered, it is relatively easy to modify scripts to meet the needs of a given surface or medium. *Kufic*, for instance, can be compressed and given a rounded form to fit on the face of a circular coin (fig. 9), or stretched out and given an angular form to follow the surface of a rectangular page (see cat. no. 36). The process of adaptation enables calligraphy to become an integral part of an object's decoration. This is particularly evident on a number of tenth- and eleventh-



Fig. 9. Silver dirham of Ismail I, Tashkent, A.H. 283 (A.D. 896). Freer Gallery of Art; Gift of Joel Hettger, SC-M 59.



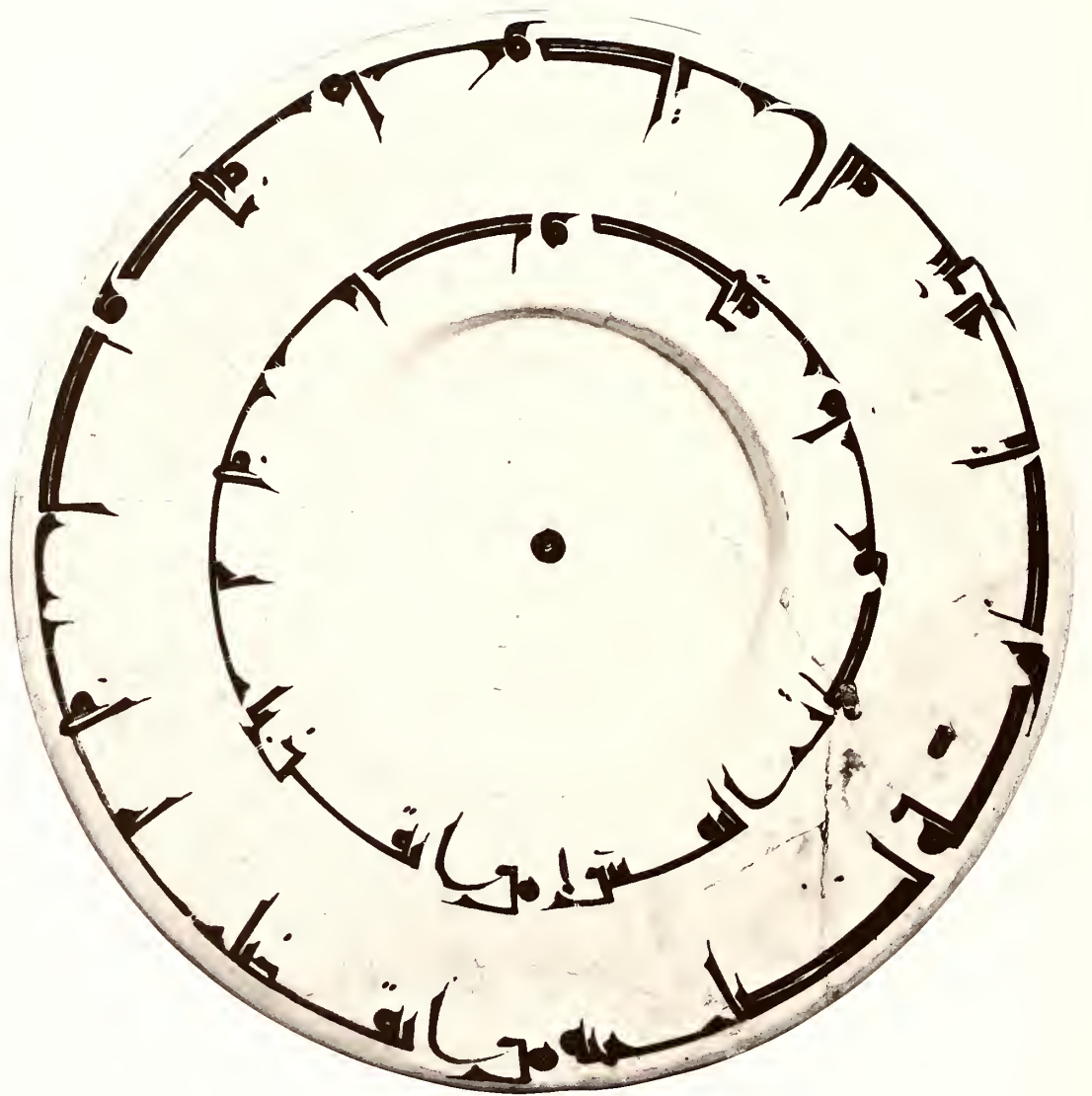


Fig. 10. Large ceramic plate with wide flattened rim and low foot, Iran, tenth century. Freer Gallery of Art, 52.11.

century Samanid plates and bowls (see cat. no. 37 and fig. 10), but it is by no means limited to them. The curving horizontal lines of the script punctuated by the strong vertical forms of some of the letters on these Samanid wares create rhythms that are as evocative and powerful as the finest ornamentation. In fact, the bowls are often devoid of any kind of decoration other than an inscription (see fig. 10).

The decorative possibilities of calligraphy are not limited to calligraphy's use as part of an object's overall aesthetic program. The script itself can "absorb" a variety of motifs, thus further blurring the distinction between it and its decoration. The most obvious examples of this integration are animated scripts (see cat. no. 39 and fig. 12), in which the various figures and animals depicting the letters of the alphabet take on a life of their own. More typical, however, is the incorporation of such details as rosettes, medallions, and floral designs into the fabric of the script. The arabesques on the rectangular plaque (cat. no. 53) and the bottle (cat. no. 42), for instance, weave in and

out of the script, holding the letters together and emphasizing their natural flow. It is impossible to separate one from the other; they are part of a single expression. In a similar way, the flower-strewn field of the frontispiece of the late fourteenth-century Mamluk Qur'an (cat. no. 44), or the multicolored diacritical marks and verse stops of the thirteenth-century North African Qur'an (cat. no. 40), are an integral part of the script. The tendency to fuse decorative forms with calligraphic ones is apparent even in the earliest examples of Islamic calligraphy. A milestone (fig. 11) erected for the caliph Abd al-Malik (685–705), for example, has *kufic* letters that end in ornamental flourishes, whereas ninth- and tenth-century Qur'ans (see cat. no. 36) often show red diacritical marks that contrast to the dark-brown ink of the writing in a vibrant play of colors and forms.

The most intriguing aspect of Islamic calligraphy, however, is its “automatic” or symbolic qualities. Richard Ettinghausen and others have noted that there are a large number of inscriptions in the Muslim world that are either extremely difficult to read (no matter how well versed one is in the relevant language), or so full of orthographic peculiarities or mistakes as to render the text unreliable.<sup>9</sup> The complicated inscriptions on such monuments as the seventh-century Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, the eleventh-century Qutb Minar in Delhi, or the seventeenth-century Masjid-i Shah in Isfahan are almost impossible to decipher even with an extensive knowledge of Arabic. Moreover, their location above eye-level, often in places having obstructed views, makes the task of reading them even more difficult. Furthermore, most people who would have come into contact with such inscriptions likely would have had, at best, only a cursory familiarity with the written language. This is especially true of monuments like the Dome of the Rock and the Qutb Minar that were constructed in largely non-Muslim areas and whose messages were directed at precisely that part of the population that would have had the most difficulty reading them.<sup>10</sup> The same kind of problem is presented by the highly modified and animated scripts discussed above. Unless one takes great care and time and has a thorough knowledge of the language, the information contained in the inscriptions is not accessible. For example, the densely packed letters of the building inscription (cat. no. 38) or the twisting forms of the people and animals that make up one of the epigraphs on the Freer Gallery's canteen (fig. 12), are so intricately worked and elaborate that they can be read only by isolating them from the rest of the object and deciphering them character by character.

The point is that in many cases the viewer was not expected actually to read the text. This is especially clear in those instances in which an inscription contains “errors” that transform its meaning. A most obvious example is the misspelling of Badr al-Din Lulu's name on a tray in the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 13) that was once part of the ruler's household.<sup>11</sup> Instead of

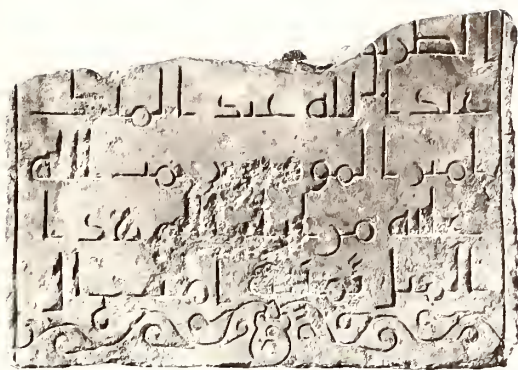


Fig. 11. Milestone of Caliph Abd al-Malik, Palestine, 685–705. Musée du Louvre, Département des antiquités Orientales (section Islamique), AO 4087.



giving Badr al-Din's honorific title, "Father of Virtue," it has "Father of Oppressions," a change in nomenclature that would have been highly offensive to Badr al-Din had he bothered to take note of it. Such contrivances suggest that the mere presence of certain inscriptions was enough to trigger an automatic response on the part of the viewer. Whether or not that person was able to read the words of the text, the very shape of the letters—through their association with either the faith at large or a more private aspect of it—conveyed a symbolic message. For example, the Qur'anic phrases that run along the walls of many mosques and tombs do not need to be read word for word for the essence of their message to be understood. Knowledge of the Qur'anic allusions in the inscriptions is enough to reveal the pious context of the text. In a similar manner the inscriptions containing the names of caliphs and holy phrases on some Fatimid robes of honor, which are too distorted by decorative modifications to be read, probably were never meant to be read in a literal sense. The "gestalt," as Ettinghausen calls it, of the inscription as a whole and the inclusion of the caliph's name were all that were essential.<sup>12</sup>

Two points follow from these observations. First, for an inscription to set off an automatic response, the viewer must have a basic idea of the type of message being imparted. Second, no matter how powerful the symbolic associations of an inscription, its full meaning can be obtained only by a

Fig. 12. Brass canteen inlaid with silver and a black organic material, Syria, ca. 1240. Freer Gallery of Art, 41.10.



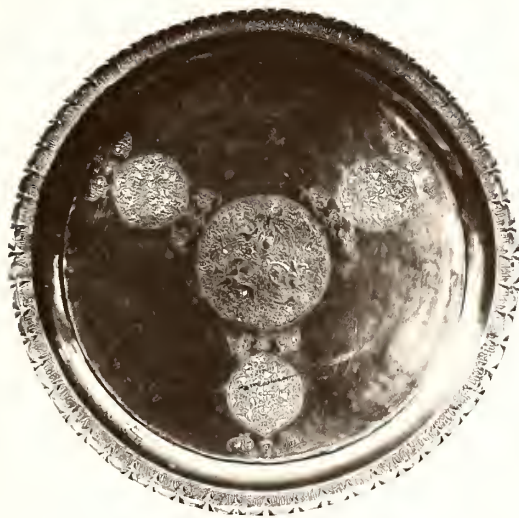


Fig. 13. Brass tray made for Badr al-Din Lulu, Syria, ca. 1233–59. The Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. 905–1907.

complete reading of its text. The semiotic dimensions of calligraphy, however, give the inscription its full range of possible meanings. Indeed, few artistic expressions can be interpreted on so many levels as calligraphy. The classical concept of writing as the “geometry of the soul”—a notion echoed in almost all Islamic treatises on the subject—perhaps more than any other suggests calligraphy’s extraordinary qualities. By seeing calligraphy not as an act of the hand but of the whole being, classical philosophers emphasized its transcendental quality. Within the Muslim world this notion was expressed by such statements as:

*Handwriting is the tongue of the hand. Style is the tongue of the intellect. The intellect is the tongue of good actions and qualities. And good actions and qualities are the perfection of man.*<sup>13</sup>

Through beautiful writing, thoughts and ideas were given a concrete form that enhanced their meaning and charged their message with a special power. It is this aspect of calligraphy that is so exciting and that is reflected in the varied objects in this exhibition.

1. Ahmad 1959, p. 49.
2. Abul Fazl Allami, *Ani-i Akbari*, 3 vols. Translated into English by H. Blochmann et al. (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1977), vol. 1, p. 103.
3. Esoteric messages are seen in the symbolism associated with the twenty-eight letters of the Arabic alphabet, which are often used to create chronograms through their numerical values based on their connection with the twenty-eight stations of the moon. For more information on this numerical system, see Schimmel 1970, pp. 12ff.
4. See Abbott 1939 and “Arabic Paleography,” *Ars Islamica* 8 (1941): 65–104; Schimmel 1970 and Schimmel 1984; Lings 1977 and Lings and Safadi 1976; Safadi 1978; and Grohmann 1971.
5. See, for instance, Abu Haiyan al-Tawhidi’s comments in Rosenthal 1948, p. 4.
6. For more information about the different scripts, see Safadi 1978, pp. 10–24, and “*Khatt*.”
7. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ireland, MS. 1431.
8. “Arabic Paleography,” p. 69ff.
9. See, for example, Ettinghausen 1974, pp. 297–317.
10. See, for instance, the interpretation of the Dome of the Rock articulated by Oleg Grabar in “The Umayyad Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem,” *Ars Orientalis* 3 (1959): 33–62.
11. Ettinghausen 1974, pp. 304–5.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 304.
13. From Abu Haiyan al-Tawhidi as translated in Rosenthal 1948, p. 11.



*kufic*

North Africa(?), late 9th to early 10th century  
 ink, color, and gold on parchment  
 height 28.3 cm. (11 $\frac{1}{8}$  in); width 39.8 cm (15 $\frac{11}{16}$  in)  
 45.16v

The thick, almost heavy strokes of this page's calligraphy are typical of early *kufic*. By tinting the background with blue and using red diacritical marks, the calligrapher has created a lively series of surface patterns that emphasize the powerful movement of the letters. The horizontal format of the page, which is common to many early Qur'ans, responds to the natural forms of the script that call for long horizontal strokes. Although the oldest Qur'ans that have survived (dating to the eighth century)<sup>1</sup> avoid the use of ornamental devices and illuminations, by the ninth century they had become common.<sup>2</sup> The finely decorated band of illumination that divides the page serves a dual function: it relieves the starkness of the calligraphy and indicates the start of a new chapter. The four lines above the illumination are from the last two verses of Sura XXI, "The Prophets"; the seven below it include the *basmala* and the first two verses of Sura XXII, "The Pilgrimage." The widespread use of *kufic* throughout most of the Muslim world during the eighth and ninth centuries makes it extremely difficult to identify the locations where manuscripts were produced during this period, though major centers seem to have been in North Africa, Iraq, and Iran. Although several other Qur'ans use colored parchment (most notably one written in gold ink against a deep-blue background; fig. 14),<sup>3</sup> this type is extremely rare.



Fig. 14. Page from a blue vellum Qur'an, North Africa, late ninth century. Fogg Art Museum; Francis H. Burr Memorial fund, 1967.23.

1. Such as the copy of the Qur'an in the British Library (Or. 2165) written in *ma'il* script.

2. For more information on the development of early *kufic*, see Lings and Safadi 1976, pp. 1–23, and Lings 1977, pp. 15–53.

3. For more information on this manuscript, see Welch 1979, pp. 48–49.





## 37 *Deep Bowl with Flaring Sides*

*kufic*

Iran, 10th century

ceramic with buff paste and transparent glaze

height 11.2 cm (4<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in); diameter 39.3 cm (13<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in)

57.24

With its bold juxtaposition of colors and forms, this bowl is one of the finest Samanid (819–1005) slip-painted wares extant.

Written in an eastern Iranian style, the *kufic* inscription reads, “It is said that he who is content with his own opinion runs into danger. Blessing to the owner.” The inscription is written around an abstract tree whose polylobed branches revolve in a clockwise direction. The movement created by the sweep of the branches parallels that of the inscription, which also reads in a clockwise direction, and emphasizes the roundness of the bowl. Esin Atil has noted that the subtle placement of the trunk, with its one reversed branch, points out the beginning of the inscription.<sup>1</sup> Panels of dark-brown dots and red and brown blossoms decorate the areas between the letters and link the words together. Eastern *kufic*, which was developed in Iran during the ninth century, is lighter and more dynamic than its parent script.<sup>2</sup> Instead of long, thick, horizontal strokes (see cat. no. 36), emphasis is on diagonal lines with triangular-shaped letters. By softening the thrust of the strokes, the creators of eastern *kufic* (also referred to as *al-kufi al-farisi* or *al kufi al-baghdadi*) produced a script that had an almost infinite decorative potential.<sup>3</sup>

1. Atil 1973, p. 37.

2. Lings 1977, p. 16.

3. Ibid.

Published: Atil 1973, no. 12





## 38 Building Inscription

*kufic* and *naskhi*

by Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Ahmad Asid (or Usaid)

Iran; dated A.H. 549 (A.D. 1154–55)

carved stone

height 92.5 cm (36<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in); width 67.6 cm (26<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in)

48.16



detail

This elaborately carved inscription records the construction of a mosque associated with the sanctuary of Ali b. Musa al-Riza, the eighth imam, who died in Mashhad in A.D. 818. The construction of the mosque was ordered by Junaid b. Ammar al-Ala during the reign of Sultan Sanjar (r. 1118–57), who repaired the tomb chamber of the shrine in 1118.<sup>1</sup> By using a series of different scripts (plaited *kufic* around the edges, *naskhi* and *kufic* on the inner bands, and simple *kufic* just below the bosses of the arch), carved on different planes, the calligrapher, Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Ahmad Asid (or Usaid), created an extremely rich surface that reverberates with the patterns of the lines. The mihrablíke shape of the inscription gives it a pious air that is echoed in the inscriptions, which include passages from suras III, XXXIII, XXIII, and CXII of the Qur'an, and a lengthy prayer to the twelve Shi'ite imams that can be read as follows:

*In the name of Allah, the merciful, the All-compassionate. O Allah, bless Muhammad, the chosen one, and Ali, the approved one, and Fatima, the resplendent one, and Hasan, the pure, and Husain, the pious, and Ali b. al-Husain, the ornament of the worshipers, and Muhammad b. Ali, the learned, and Jafar b. Muhammad, the just, and Musa b. Jafar, who suppresses his anger, and Ali b. Musa, the approved one, and Muhammad, the pious, and Ali b. Muhammad, the lasting proof, the expected one, the Mahdi. May the prayers of Allah be on all of them!*

The Shi'ite sentiments of this prayer and of Sura XXXIII (in which the partisans of Ali are quoted to prove the intimate union of Ali with the prophet) are not surprising since this inscription comes from one of the holiest Shi'ite sanctuaries in all of Iran. At least two other inscriptions by Ahmad b. Muhammad are known: the tombstone of Fatima bint Zaid dated 1141<sup>2</sup> and a tombstone now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art dated 1150.<sup>3</sup> A third tombstone, dated 1138, almost identical in shape and design to the building inscription, may also be by Ahmad b. Muhammad (fig. 15).<sup>4</sup>

1. *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe* 8, no. 2978.

2. Arthur Upham Pope, Phyllis Ackerman et al., *Survey of Persian Art* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1938–39), vol. 5, pl. 519 E.

3. Gaston Wiet, *Exposition persane de 1931*, pl. 10: A.

4. This object bears the name of 'Umar ibn al-Qasim al-Harrani, which has also been construed as "the work of Abu'l Qasim al-Harrani." See Welch 1979, pp. 108–9.



Fig. 15. Marble tombstone, Iran, A.H. 533 (A.D. 1138). Boston Museum of Fine Arts; Maria Antonette Evans Fund, 31.711.







## 39 *Pen Box*

*kufic* and *naskhi*

made by Shazi for Majd al-Mulk al-Muzaffar

Iran, dated A.H. 607 (A.D. 1210–11)

cast brass, engraved and chased; inlaid with copper, silver, and a black organic material  
height 5.0 cm (2 in); length 31.4 cm (12 $\frac{5}{8}$  in); width 6.4 cm (2 $\frac{5}{16}$  in)

36.7

Pen boxes were an essential part of a calligrapher's equipment. In addition to containing an ink pot, a pen box would have held several carefully made reed plumes, a pair of scissors, a knife for shaping the plumes, and an assortment of other necessary items. The finely worked inlaid decoration of this box, with its deft interplay of forms, suggests how important calligraphy was for Majd al-Mulk, the patron of the piece. Along the sides of the box an Arabic inscription in animated *naskhi* is set against a scrolling background of animal heads; on the lid a less elaborate inscription in *naskhi* surrounds a central field of scrolling animal heads. A third inscription, in animated *kufic*, runs along the sides of the lid. The animated forms that surge through the inscriptions and the scrolls unify the decoration of the box and link together the rhythms of the three inscriptions. The inscriptions read:

Top of the lid (*naskhi*)

*The most illustrious excellency, the great, the wise, the supported [by God], the triumphant, the victorious, Majd al-Mulk, the honor of state and religion, the luminous star of Islam and*

*Muslims, the chosen among kings and sultans, the light of the nation, the splendor of the community, the example of the great and the perfect, the pillar of dignity, the lord of viziers, the king of lieutenants, the possessor of good fortune, the minister of Iran, the grand vizier of Khorasan, al-Muzaffar, son of the deceased vizier Majd al-Mulk, may God multiply [increase] his power.*

Side of the lid (animated *kufic*)

*The work of Shazi, the engraver [or designer], in the months of the year seven and six hundred.*

Sides of the base (animated *naskhi*)

*Glory and prosperity and power and safety and health and [God's] care and satisfaction and [Muhammad's] intercession and aid and victoriousness and increase [vision of God] and thankfulness and gratitude and favor and tranquility and comfort and mercy and increase [vision of God] and abundance and divine support and religiosity and duration and sufficiency and perpetuity everlasting to its owner.*

Published: Atil 1985, no. 14.



lid





detail from side



*kufic*

North Africa, 13th century

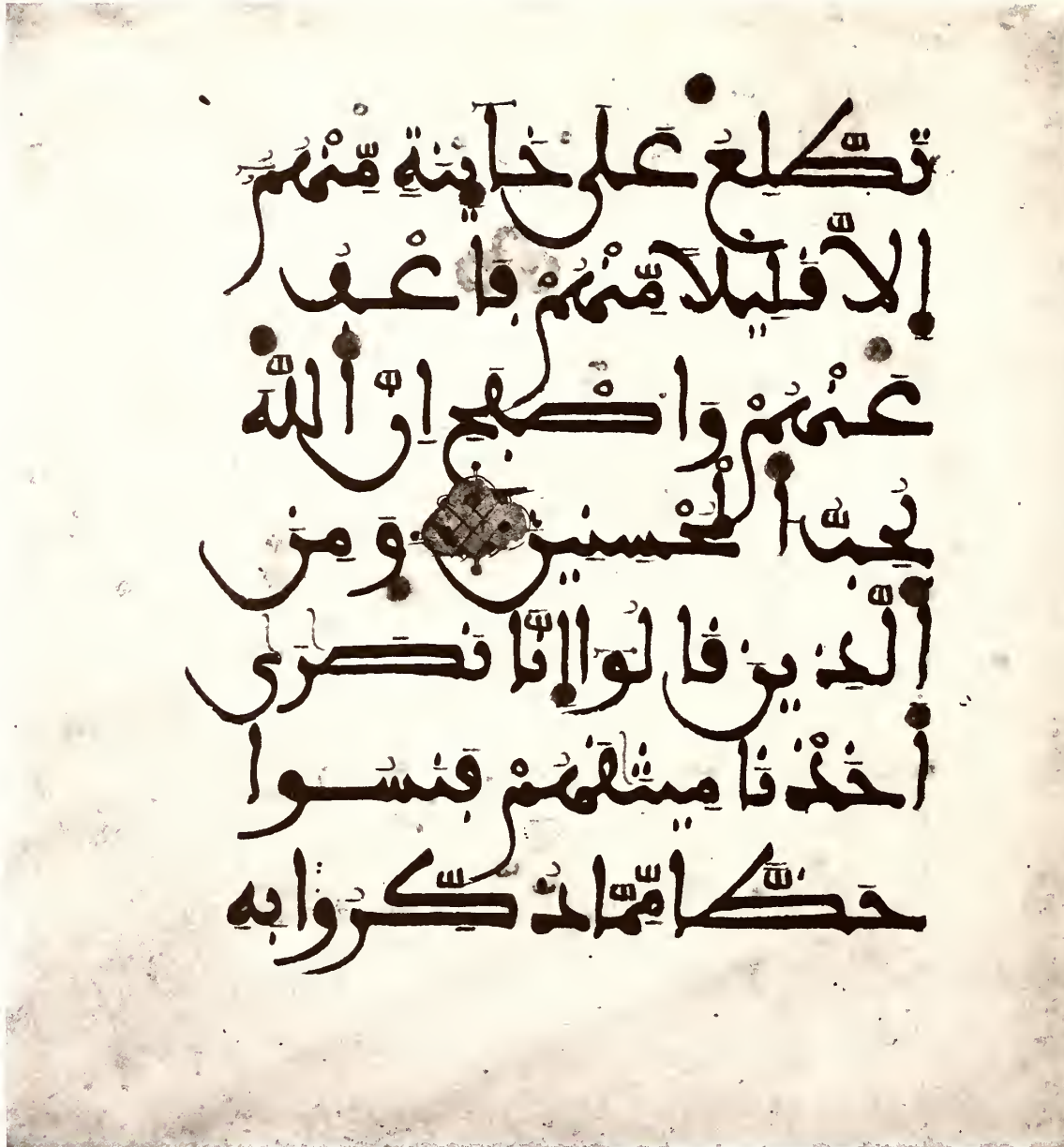
ink, color, and gold on parchment

each leaf: height 16.5 cm (6<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in); width 15.5 cm (6<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in)

29.68r–29.69v

The flowing movement of the script used here, with its sweeping curves and slightly rounded letters, is characteristic of western, or maghribi, *kufic*. Like eastern *kufic* (see cat. no. 37) this version of the script appears to have developed during the ninth century. It was used throughout North Africa and Spain. Although the Qur'an from which these pages come was written on parchment, by the thirteenth century most manuscripts produced in the Muslim world were executed on paper. The vertical format of the pages, however, is typical of Qur'ans copied during this period. The passages are from Sura V, "The Food," verses fifteen through eighteen. A number of diacritical and orthographic marks have been used to indicate the proper transcription of each word. Diacritical marks and vowels are written in brown, the *sukun* (a consonant sign) and the *tashdid* (a doubling sign) in blue, and the *hamza* (a vowel) and the *wasla* are marked as yellow and green dots. Normal verse stops are indicated by gold knots, and every fifth knot is marked by a finely drawn gold leaf. Although the various marks and signs are essential to the correct rendering of the text, they also add to its aesthetic appeal by creating a secondary series of patterns that enhance the beauty of the calligraphy.

Published: Atil 1975, no. 7



29.68r

منكم وقد كل سوا  
السبيل فيما نقصهم  
ميشتمهم لعنهم وجعلنا  
قلوبهم فسيه تحرفون  
الكلم عن مواضعه  
وتسوا حذكم ما  
حذكم روايه ولا تزال

تطبع



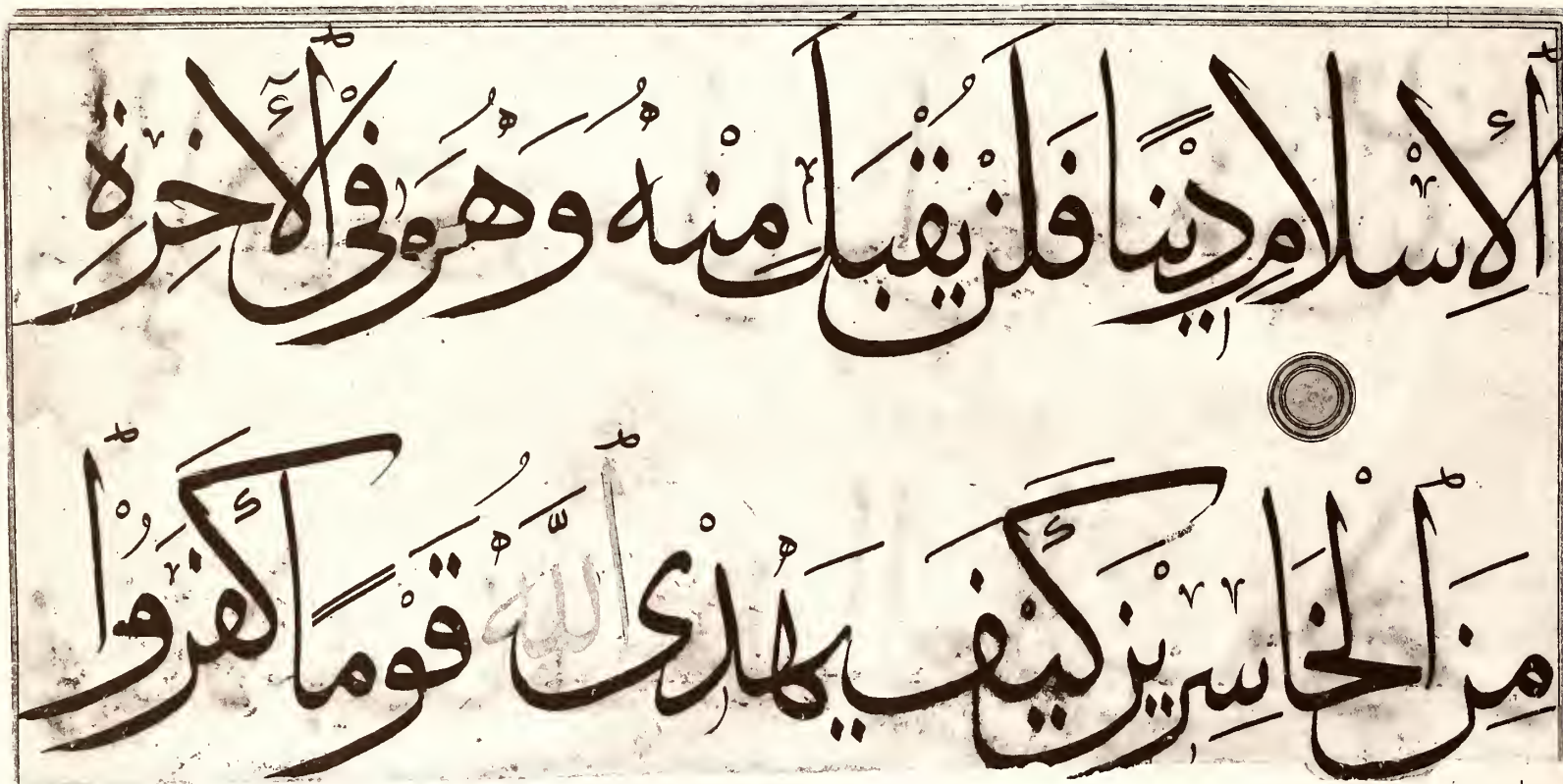
*muhaqqaq*

Iran, 14th century(?)

ink and gold on paper

height 17.8 cm (7 in); width 36.1 cm (14<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in)

45.18



Written in a bold *muhaqqaq* script with the word *Allah* in gold, the calligraphy of this page is as dramatic as it is strong. The text is from Sura III, "The House of Imran," verses seventy-nine and eighty:

*Whoso desires another religion than Islam, it shall not be accepted of him; in the next world he shall be among the losers. How shall God guide a people who have disbelieved after they believed, and bore witness that the Messenger is true, and the clear signs came to them?*<sup>1</sup>

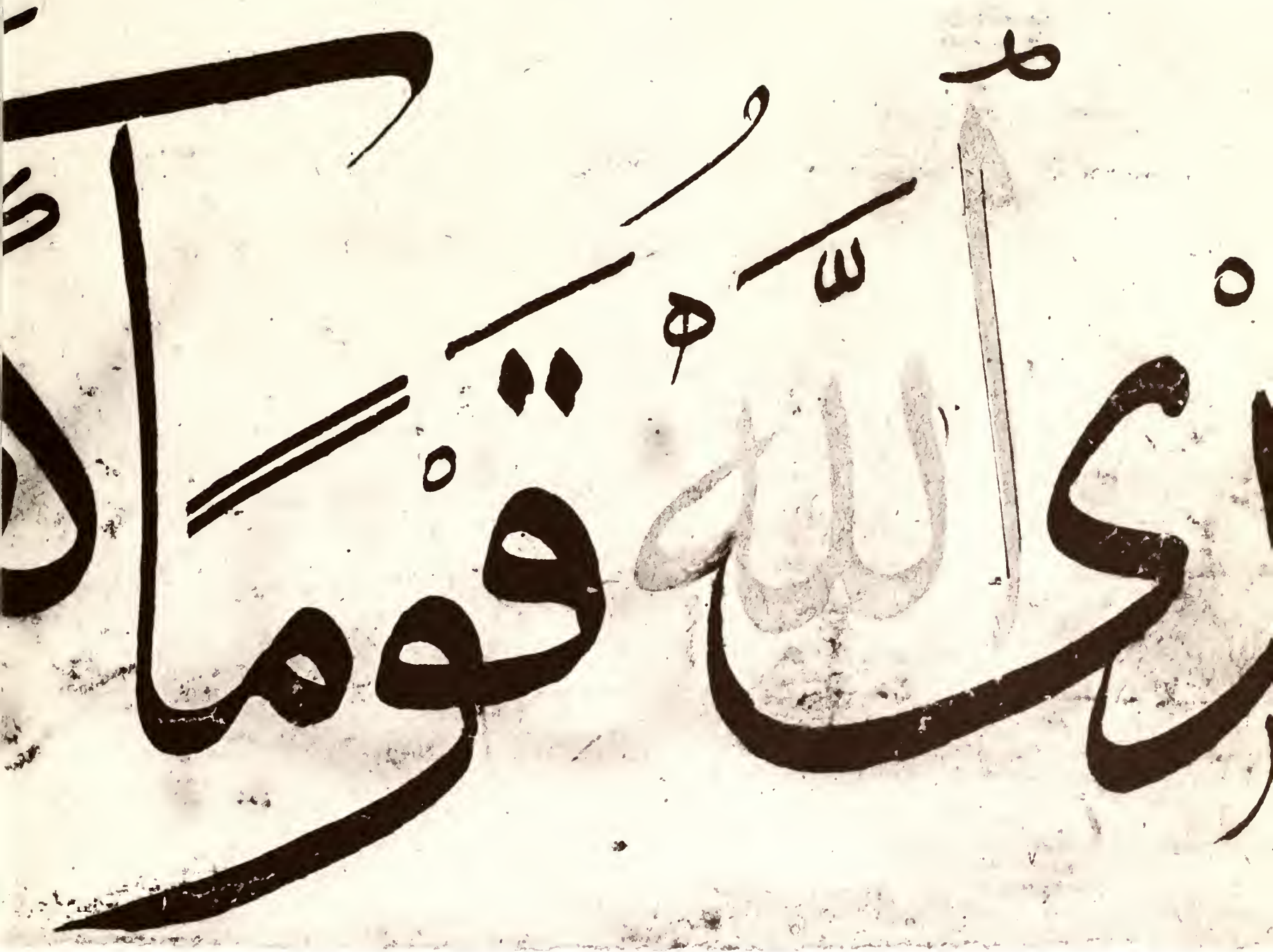
During the fourteenth century, *muhaqqaq*, like *thuluth* (see cat. no. 42), was widely used throughout the Muslim world, from Egypt to India, for the copying of large Qur'ans. With its tall slender verticals and sweeping sublinear strokes, *muhaqqaq* is at once monumental in its forms and dynamic in its movement. The combination of

powerful horizontal and vertical letters gives the script a grandeur that may explain its name, which means "strongly expressed or realized."<sup>2</sup> The page comes from either a fourteenth-century Qur'an or, possibly, a fifteenth-century one. The result of political and social turmoil that followed the collapse of the il-Khanid empire (1256–1353) was that few Iranian Qur'ans survive from that period. Another fragmentary page from this manuscript is in the Library of Congress.<sup>3</sup>

1. All excerpts from the Qur'an are from Arthur J. Arberry's translation, *The Koran Interpreted*, 2 vols. (London and New York: George Allen and Unwin/Macmillan, 1955).

2. Lings and Safadi 1976, p. 48.

3. Cons. no. 34. The page in the Library of Congress, bought from the same dealer, Kirkor Minassian, as the Freer page, may form the lower half of the Freer page.



detail



## 42 *Bottle*

*thuluth*

Syria, mid-14th century

glass decorated in polychrome enamels and gold  
height 49.7 cm (19<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in); diameter 24.8 cm (9<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in)

34.20

With its elongated neck and flaring body, this bottle is both striking and elegant. A series of medallions, scrolls, and floral designs decorate the piece. Inscribed along the widest part of the body in *thuluth* characters is the Arabic phrase, "Glory to our master, the sultan, al-Malik, al-Mujahid, the wise, the just." Three large medallions punctuate the inscription, and fine red and gold outlines set it off from the blue background of the glass. *Thuluth*, like *kufic*, was often used for monumental inscriptions. Here the long shafts of the *alifs* and the stems of the horizontal characters bow slightly, emphasizing the rounded shape of the bottle's body. The subtle manipulation of the script's form is typical of Islamic calligraphy. The inscription's

titles refer to al-Malik al-Mujahid Sayf al-Din Ali ibn Dawud (r. 1322–63), the Rasulid ruler of Yemen.

Published: Atil 1975, no. 74

detail







## 43 Page from a Qur'an

*kufic* and *naskhi*

copied by Shadhi ibn Muhammad ibn Ayyub (A.D. 1281–1341/42)

Egypt, dated Ramadan A.H. 713 (A.D. December 1313)

ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper

height 34.4 cm (13<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in); width 25.9 cm (10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in)

38.15

Written in *naskhi*, with sweeping gold letters outlined in black, this page is as beautiful as it is bold. It is from the beginning of Sura XXXII, "Prostration." The chapter heading is in *kufic* against a blue ground at the top of the page and reads, "Sura [of] the Prostration, thirty verses, Mecca." After this is the *basmala*, the letters *alif*, *lam*, and *min*, and verses one through eight and most of nine:

*The sending down of the book, wherein no doubt is, from the lord of all being.*

*Or do they say, "He has forged it?" Say:*

*"Not so; it is the truth from thy Lord*

*that thou mayest warn a people to whom no*

*warner came before thee, that haply so they may be guided."*

*God is He that created the heavens and the earth,*

*and what between them is, in six days,*

*then seated himself upon the Throne.*

*Apart from Him you have no protector*

*neither mediator; will you not remember?*

*He directs the affair from heaven to earth,*

*then it goes up to him in one day, whose measure is*

*a thousand years of your counting.*

*He is the knower of the Unseen and the Visible,*

*the All-Mighty, the All-Compassionate,*

*who has created all things well.*

*And He originated the creation of man out of clay,*

*then he fashioned his progeny of an extraction of mean water,*

*then He shaped him, and breathed His spirit in him.*

*And He appointed for you hearing, and sight, and hearts;*

*little thanks you show.*

On the verso of the page are the final words of the ninth verse, "They say, 'What, when we have gone astray in the earth, shall we indeed be in a new creation?'" up to the beginning of the twenty-first verse. A finely drawn medallion with the word *Allah* inscribed in it marks the fifth verse of the chapter and acts as a visual counterpoint to the brilliant illumination above it. This is one of four detached pages from a Qur'an now in the Turk ve Islam Eserleri Muzesi in Istanbul.<sup>1</sup> The Qur'an was ordered by the Mamluk sultan al-Nasir Muhammad (r.

1294–95, 1299–1309, 1309–40) and bears an elaborate certificate of commissioning that reads:

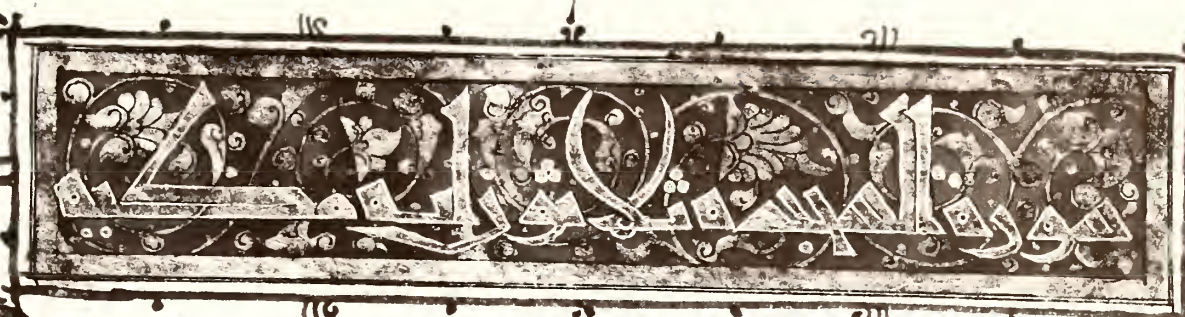
*For the exalted imperial library of Sultan al-Malik al-Nasir, may Allah prolong his days and unfurl his banners in the East and West, exalt his power and make the kings of the earth obey his limitless authority.*<sup>2</sup>

According to the manuscript's colophon, which is dated Ramadan A.H. 713 (A.D. December 1313), the manuscript was copied by Shadhi ibn Muhammad ibn Ayyub, a minor Ayyubid prince who was a grandson of al-Malik al-Zahir Shadhi. He was born in A.D. 1281 and died suddenly in A.D. 1341–42.<sup>3</sup>

1. MS. 450. Among the other dispersed pages from this manuscript are a second page in the Freer Gallery (acc. no. 38.32) and a page in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

2. As translated by David James in "Some Observations on the Calligrapher and Illuminators of the Koran of Rukn al-Din Baybars al-Jashnagir," *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 152–53.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 157, note 25.



بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ  
 نَزَّلَ الْكَلِمَ الْأَعْرَابَ مِنْ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ أَمْ يَقُولُونَ افْتَرَى بَعْضُ  
 الْيَهُودِ كَذِبًا وَمَا آتَيْنَاهُمْ مِنْ قَبْلِكَ الْعِلْمَ يَتَّبِعُونَ اللَّهَ  
 الَّذِي خَلَقَ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ مَا يَنْبَغُ فِي سِتَّةِ أَيَّامٍ أَنْ تُسَوَّى عَلَى الْعَرْشِ  
 لَمْ يَزِدْ مِنْ رَبِّكَ لِيُغْنِعِ أَفلاكُكَ أَنْ يَدْرُسَ السَّمَاءَ إِلَى الْأَرْضِ  
 فِي يَوْمٍ كَانَ مِقْدَارُهُ أَلْفَ سَنَةٍ مِمَّا تَعُدُّونَ ذَلِكَ عِلْمَ الْغَيْبِ وَالشَّكَاةِ  
 الْعَزِيزِ الرَّحِيمِ الَّذِي أَحْسَنَ لِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ خَلْقَهُ وَبَدَأَ خَلْقَ الْإِنْسَانِ مِنْ طِينٍ  
 ثُمَّ جَعَلَهُ مِنْ سَلْسَلَةٍ مِنْ نُحُمٍ ثُمَّ سَوَّاهُ وَنَفَخَ فِيهِ مِنْ رُوحِ رَبِّهِ وَجَعَلَ لِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ  
 وَالْإِبْصَارَ وَالْأَفْئِدَةَ قَلِيلًا مَّا تَشْكُرُونَ وَقَالُوا أَيُّ شَيْءٍ أَفْهَى لِلْأَعْيُنِ





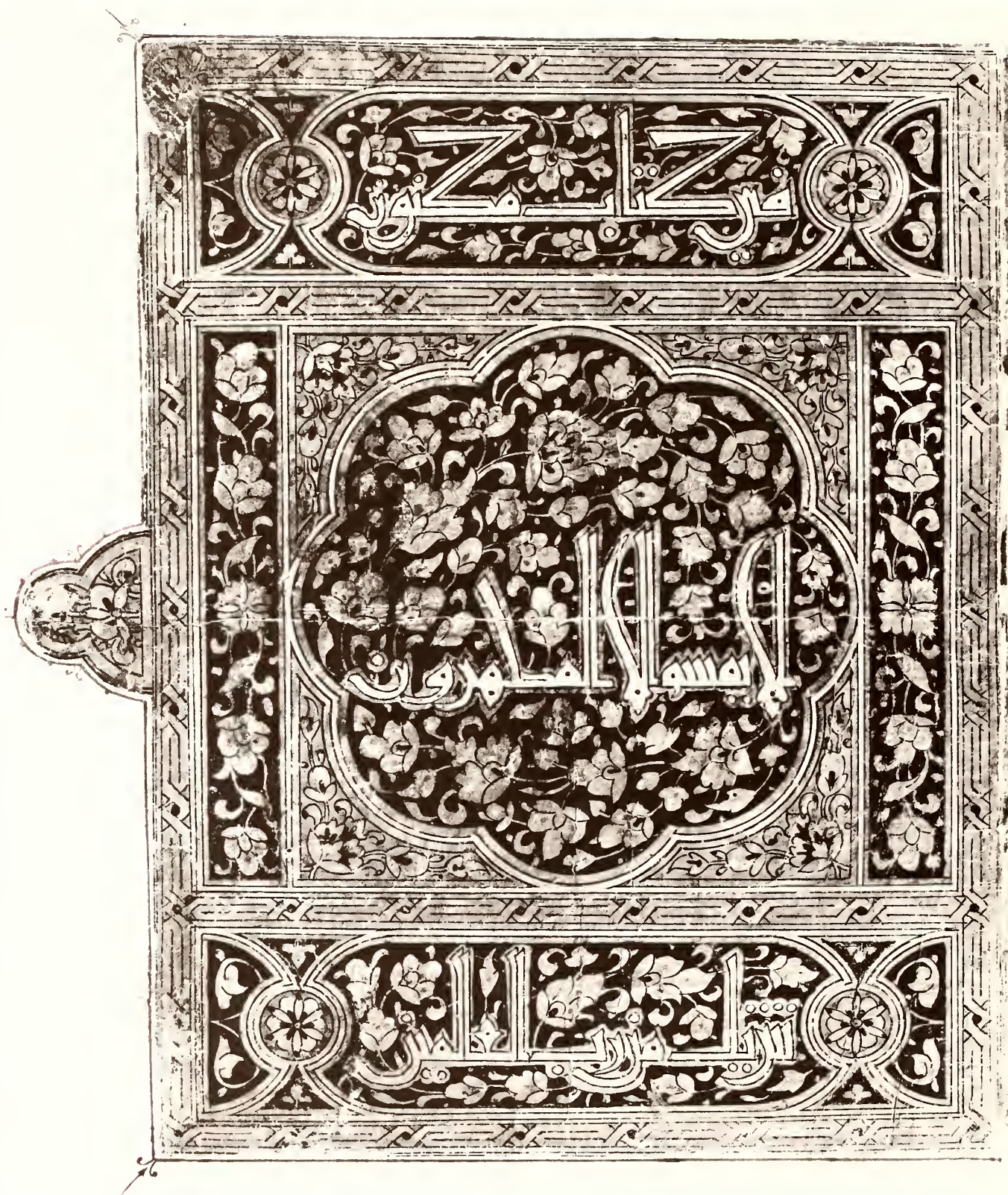
*kufic*

Egypt, late 14th century

ink, color, and gold on paper

each leaf: height 32.9 cm (13 1/8 in); width 24.8 cm (9 15/16 in)

48.9r-32.1v



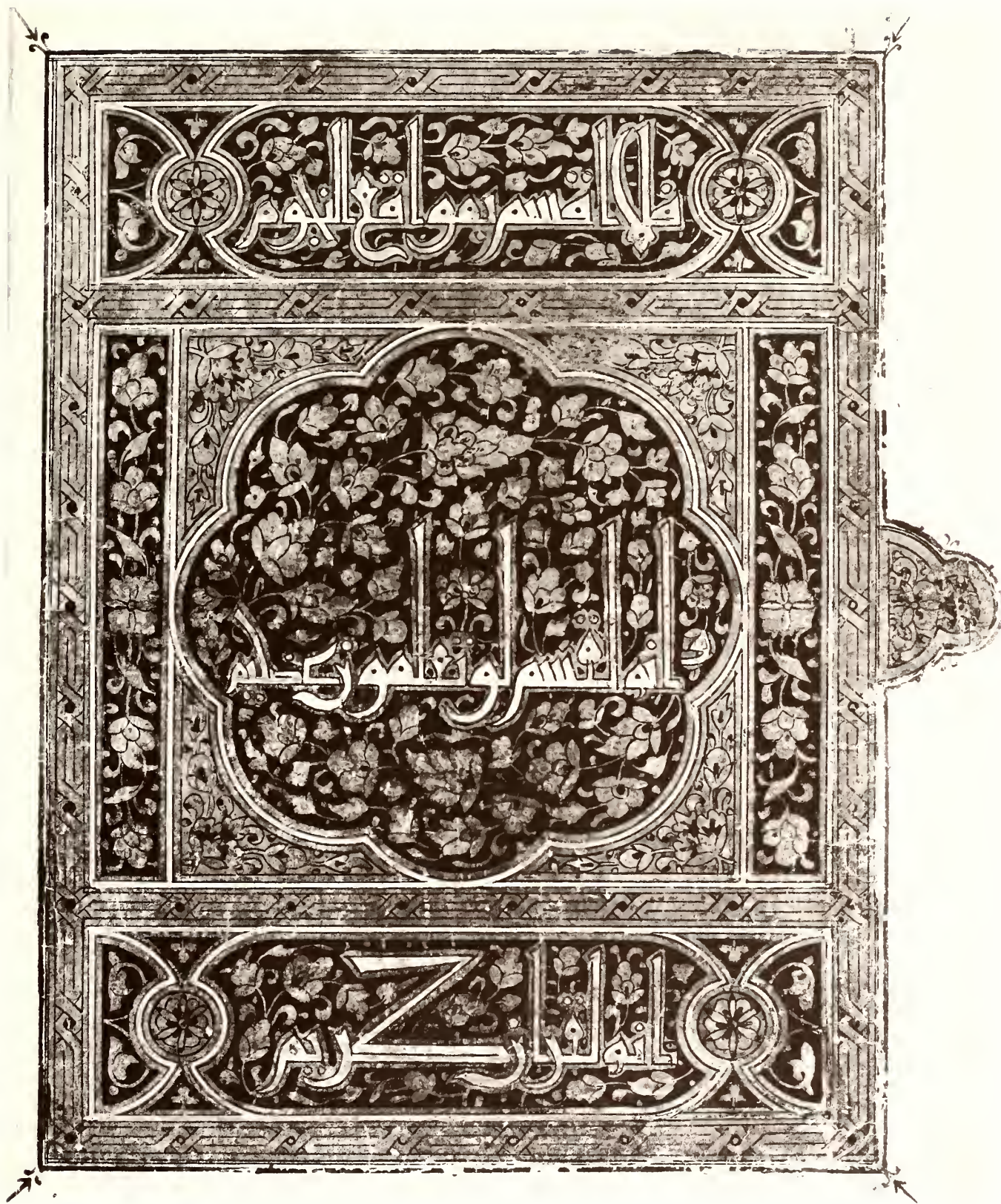
48.9r

This double frontispiece to one of the sections of the Qur'an is decorated with gold flowers, medallions, and trefoil-shaped ornaments against a deep brown and blue ground. The three lines of *kufic* on each

page are written in white and outlined in gold. They are from verses seventy-five through seventy-seven (on the right) and seventy-eight through eighty (on the left) of Sura LVI, "Terror":

*No! I swear by the fallings of the stars  
(and that is indeed a mighty oath, did you but  
know it)  
it is surely a noble Koran in a hidden Book  
none but the purified shall touch,  
a sending down from the Lord of all Being.*





32.1V

These verses, which describe the Qur'an's sacredness, are among the most popular in the book. The pages' richly patterned surface provides the perfect counterpoint to the majestic words of the text. The linking of text and design, pattern and calligraphy,

is a device used to emphasize critical parts of the manuscript while creating a feeling of sumptuousness that is consistent with the divine character of the book.

Published: *Atıl* 1975, no. 43.



*kufic* and *nastaliq*

copied by Mir Ali ibn Hasan al-Sultani (ca. 1340–1420)

Tabriz, ca. 1410–15

ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper

with six miniatures (one of which was added during the sixteenth century)

per folio: height 18.3 cm (7¼ in); width 12.7 cm (5 in)

31. 29; illustrated: folio 1v



detail

The pages of this copy of *Khusrau u Shirin*, originally composed by Nizam ad-Din Abu Muhammad Ilyas Nizami in 1180, and now set into gold-flecked margins, are among the few examples of writing that can be confidently linked to Mir Ali ibn Hasan al-Sultani (also known as Mir Ali al-Tabrizi) who is credited with inventing *nastaliq*. The colophon of the manuscript, which is partially destroyed, reads:

*Blessing and peace on the prophet and, . . . and on all mortals, and on the soul of the wonder of the age Shaikh Auhad al-Din Nizami of Ganja all glory and honor. Copied by the slave, the asker for divine pardon from God, Ali ibn Hasan al-Sultani in . . . the capital city of Tabriz may God make it great. Completed by the grace of God the most high with affection and . . .*

Although the date of the manuscript's completion has been lost, it can be attributed to around 1410–15, when Tabriz was under Timurid (1370–1506) control, on the basis of its five contemporary miniatures,<sup>1</sup> which are extremely close in style to some of the paintings in two anthologies prepared for Iskandar Mirza in 1410–11.<sup>2</sup> According to legend, Mir Ali al-Sultani (who lived from around 1340 to 1420) had a dream about flying geese interpreted for him by Ali (the fourth caliph and the prophet's cousin, foster brother, and son-in-law), that

inspired him to perfect a new manner of writing<sup>3</sup> based on a combination of *naskh* and *taliq*. The relationship between Mir Ali and Ali, though obviously imaginary, was considered preeternal by such writers as Qadi Ahmad<sup>4</sup> and may explain the subject matter of the sixteenth-century miniature that was added to the manuscript. The painting depicts a "sacred conversation" between the prophet Muhammad and Ali alluding, perhaps, to Ali's "conversation" with Mir Ali. The distinguishing features of Mir Ali's calligraphy are the minuteness of his hand and the forward flow of his letters. Shapes have been manipulated (especially the shafts of such characters as *alifs*, *sins*, and *shins*) to develop patterns of emphasis that draw the reader to critical parts of the text.<sup>5</sup> Variations in width give Mir Ali's letters an elasticity and resonance that are unprecedented. The dynamism of Mir Ali's *nastaliq* contrasts to the more static *kufic* of the illuminated heading of the page to create a vibrant play of forms. Through students such as Jafar al-Tabrizi, who worked for the Timurid prince Baysunghur between 1421 and 1433, *nastaliq* became the predominant script used for the copying of manuscripts in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Iran.

1. The date of this manuscript has been the subject of a great deal of scholarly debate. A slightly earlier date for it has recently been suggested by Basil Gray in his

article "The History of Miniature Painting: The Fourteenth Century" in Gray 1979, p. 117.

2. These are now in the Museu Calouste Gulbenkian (L.A. 161) and the British Library (Or. 27 261).

3. Schimmel 1984, p. 29.

4. Ahmad 1959, p. 116.

5. The dynamics of Mir Ali's calligraphy are discussed at length by Priscilla Soucek in her article "The Arts of Calligraphy" in Gray 1979, pp. 23–24.



مَدْحُ الْوَلَدِ الْوَالِدِ

خداوند در تو فیکشای  
 مدد ما خوب را بر خاطر مراه  
 بد او دی و لم بر زنده کرد از  
 جان کن خواندش فرج شود را  
 فرج نامه دلناش خواند  
 بچشم شاه شیرین کن جالش  
 جو فیاض شناخته کرد باری  
 بنام کرم مستی نام از و ما  
 خدای کافرینش در سجودش  
 معالی الله کی سنی مثل و ماند  
 جو امر بخش حکمتی باریک  
 که دارند بالا و پستی  
 که ایک را بقدرت کار و ما  
 و رای هر چه در کیتی پستی  
 خود در جنتش مشایر بر خا  
 ز سرش که جو بی روی شنای  
 ز برده شید ما را باشد اسم  
 نیات روح را اب ار کر ما  
 منت را شناسد که سار در سر افند

نظامی راره محققین نمایی  
 بد ار از نا پسندم دست گواه  
 ز بوم را بلند او ازه کردا  
 ز مشک افساندهش طخ شود جا  
 کبید کج مسکهاش دانند  
 که خود بر نام شیرین است فالش

دلی ده گوینت را بسا  
 در و تم را بنور خود بر او وز  
 عروسی را که پرورد دم بجاش  
 سوادش دیده را پر نوردا  
 معانی را بدوده سر بلندی  
 نسبی از رعایت بار او کن

مَدْحُ الْوَلَدِ الْوَالِدِ

که خواندش خداوندان خدا  
 بر در زارنده شبهای تاریک  
 که از بر مستی او جمله مستی  
 طباع را بصفت کومراری  
 برون از هر چه در فکر است قیامت  
 جو دانستش زو اند جبارا  
 بود دانستش بانی کوایی  
 بصارت داد نام زو بر آسم  
 جبراع دیده با سینه جبراع  
 زمین را جاز گوید در بر افند

فلک بر پای دار و انم افرو  
 غم و شادی کار و بیم و آ  
 وجودش بر همه موجود قاصر  
 مراد دیده باریک بنا  
 بخت و جوی او بر بام انلاک  
 شناسایش بر کمر نیست دشوا  
 که از نوری جو کل کج ببارد  
 کند از میات نام خرد ایاک  
 جان کرد او پیشش را آغاز  
 بر ساید همه فرسود بسا

فلک بر پای دار و انم افرو  
 غم و شادی کار و بیم و آ  
 وجودش بر همه موجود قاصر  
 مراد دیده باریک بنا  
 بخت و جوی او بر بام انلاک  
 شناسایش بر کمر نیست دشوا  
 که از نوری جو کل کج ببارد  
 کند از میات نام خرد ایاک  
 جان کرد او پیشش را آغاز  
 بر ساید همه فرسود بسا

زبانی کا قرینت  
 ز بانم را شناسم  
 مبارک را دری که ان جان  
 ساعتش بر او محزون  
 عادت را بر او کس  
 ز قبضت قهره بر کار او  
 بیاری کان که سر تا  
 فلک جنت ز منی ام  
 کواه مطلق بر او  
 در زارنده میانه  
 شب و روز از او  
 نشانش بر همه  
 اینس خاطر خدایت  
 در دیده و سر  
 ولیکن هم کبر  
 که از آنس بر ما  
 رقوم ندی  
 که بی بودن  
 هم او قادر بود برود



## 46 Three Manuscripts Bound in One Volume

*kufic* and *nastaliq*

copied by Shah Mahmud al-Nishapuri and Salim al-Katib

Iran, ca. 1523

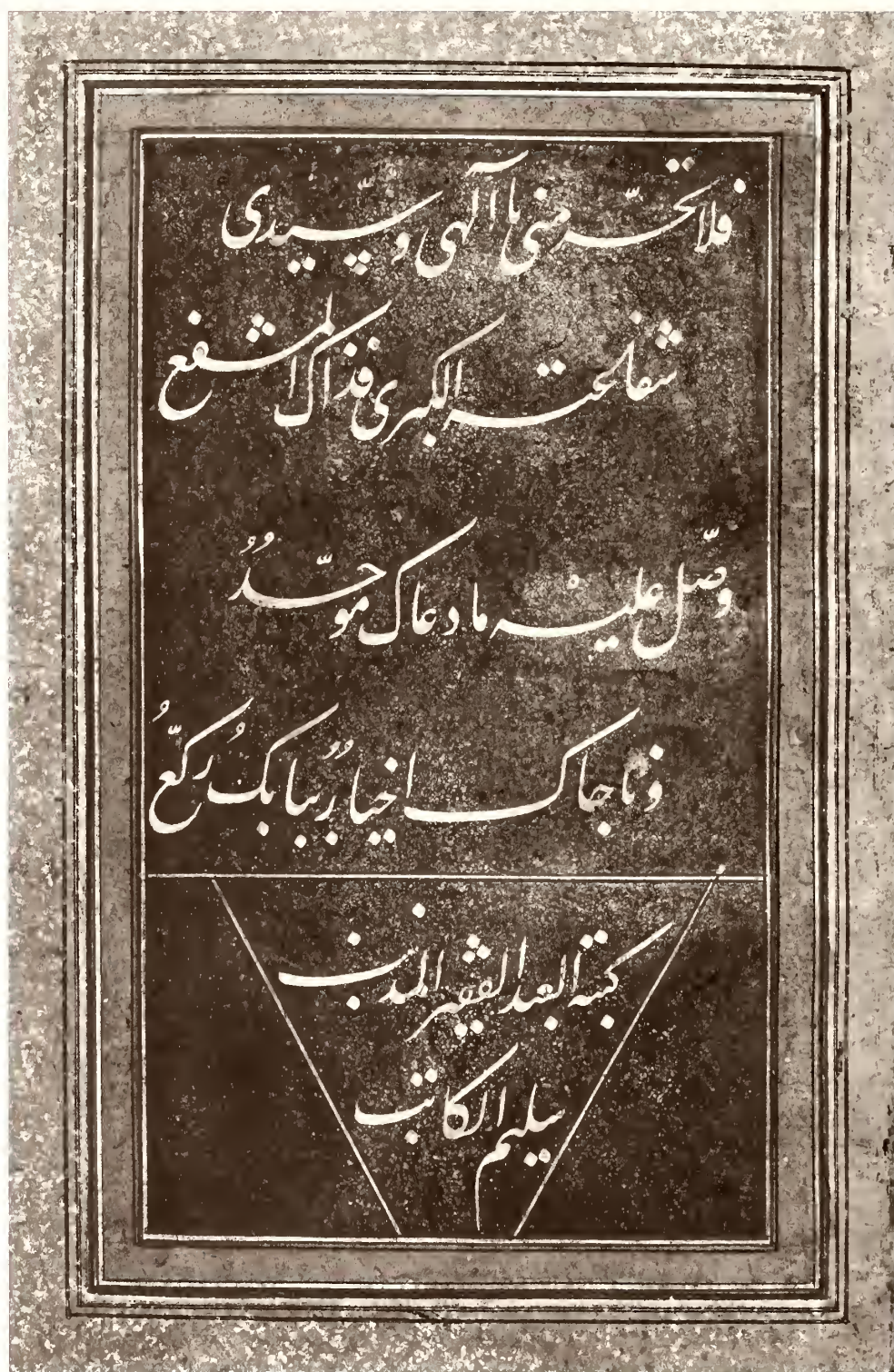
ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper

per page: height 26.1 cm (10<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in); width 16.3 cm (6<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in)

37.35; illustrated: folios 1v and 28r

The three manuscripts contained in this volume (folios 1–8 recto; 9 verso–28 recto; and 23 verso–28 recto) are all poetical texts. On folio 8 recto of the first manuscript is a colophon signed by Shah Mahmud al-Nishapuri and dated A.H.930 (A.D. 1523). A second colophon, on folio 28 recto of the third manuscript, indicates that it was copied by Salim al-Katib. Shah Mahmud al-Nishapuri was one of the leading calligraphers of the Safavid period (1501–1786). Born in Nishapur, he entered Shah Ismail's (r. 1501–24) service in Tabriz before working for Shah Tahmasp (r. 1524–76).<sup>1</sup> He was noted for his mastery of *nastaliq*, the script used in the copying of all of the manuscripts bound in the volume. A pupil of Maulana Abdi, Shah Mahmud was given the honorific *zarrin qalam* ("golden pen") and was considered by many equal to the great *nastaliq* masters Sultan Ali and Mir Ali. During the mid-1540s, when Shah Tahmasp began to lose interest in calligraphy and painting, he moved to Mashhad, where he lived on the upper floor of a madrasah known as the *qadam gah-i hadrat-i imam* (arrival place of the holy imam), until his death in 1564–65.<sup>2</sup> Salim al-Katib, the calligrapher of the third manuscript in the volume, was a pupil of Shah Mahmud.<sup>3</sup> The son of an Abyssinian, he lived in Mashhad and was noted for his colored writing (*rang nivisi*) and funereal epitaphs. According to Huart, he died in 1582–83.<sup>4</sup>

The pages of the manuscripts written by Shah Mahmud and Salim al-Katib have been carefully sprinkled with gold dust and set in margins of different colors that are either covered with large gold flecks or marbled. Shah Mahmud, writing in black ink against a rich cream-colored paper, creates small, perfectly formed characters that are almost laserlike in their precision. The fineness of his lines are repeated in the blue and gold illuminations that surround his couplets. Salim al-Katib's verses, unlike his master's, are written in a white ink against a deep-green background. His calligraphy is more open and rounded than Shah Mahmud's and flows across each page in large, sweeping curves.



28r

A.H. 1564–65 (such as a *Chihil Kalima*, now in the Turke ve Islam Eserleri Muzesi in Istanbul, which is dated A.H. 1574–75).

3. Ibid.

4. C. Huart, *Les Calligraphes et les Miniaturistes de l'Orient Musulman* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, Editeur, 1908), p. 234.

1. Ahmad 1959, pp. 134–38.

2. Ibid., p. 152. It is possible, however, that this date is incorrect as there are several manuscripts apparently copied by Shah Mahmud that have colophons later than



صحیح ترین حدیثی که راویان مجاپسین رضی الله عنہم و محدثان مدار پس یقین  
 املا کنند رضی الله عنہم حمد انایابی است که کلمات تائمه جامعه بر زبان مجنر پان حبیب  
 خود گذرانیده رضی الله عنہم و آزار تائی کلام کامل و خطاب شامل خود کرده اند  
 و بنقل رواه ثقہ بعد ثقہ بکوش محرومان از سعادت صحبت و بی ساینده  
 و بنور علم بان و عمل بموجب علم از ظلمات ضلالتشان مانیده صلی الله علیہ و آله  
 نقله علویہ و حفظه آدابہ رضی الله عنہم این جمله کلمه است از ان کلمات که سهولت فهم و حفظه  
 بنظم فارسی ترجمه کرده می آید رضی الله عنہم امیدواری از آنکه ناظم ترجمه بسم امروز در شرط من حفظ  
 علی امتی اربعین حدیثاً ینتفعون داخل شود رضی الله عنہم و فردا بسعادت جزاء بعثه الله

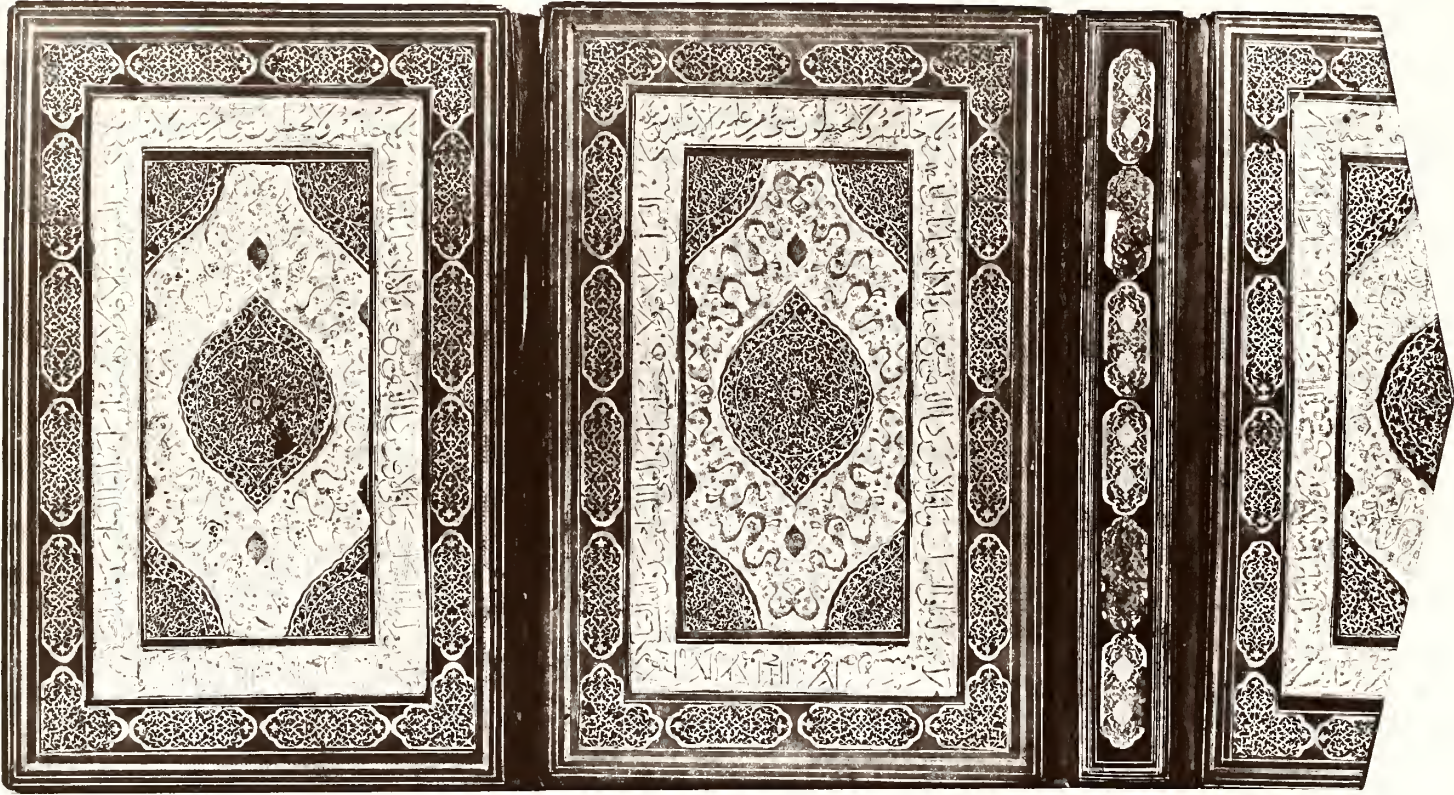


*nastaliq*

Iran, ca. 1530–40

opaque watercolors and gold on leather stretched over pasteboard  
height 37.5 cm (14¾ in); width (per panel) 24.6 cm (9⅞ in)

34.17



With its extensive gilding, tooling, and filigree work this binding is among the finest book covers produced during the reign of Shah Tahmasp (r. 1524–76). Indeed, only the cover for Shah Tahmasp's *Shahnama* (fig. 16) can rival this piece for the sumptuousness of its finish and the quality of the workmanship.<sup>1</sup> The outside of the binding was made by cutting depressions for the central field and border areas in the cardboard support and then filling the areas with paste. Leather was then stretched over the entire surface of the board, and thin gold sheets were laid over this. Hot metal stamps, incised with scrolling designs and Qur'anic inscriptions, were then applied to the surface to fuse the gold to the leather and create the raised patterns. The surface was then refined; the edges of the forms rendered in relief were sharpened and the flowers were painted in.

The inside of the cover has also been extensively worked. In addition to embossing, large areas of this part of the cover have been decorated with colored paper overlaid with designs cut out of gilded leather. The result of this treatment is a jewel-like surface that is as opulent as it is dazzling. Around the outside of each of the covers, written in

a fine *nastaliq*, is the "Throne Verse," one of the most moving passages in the Qur'an, which reads:

*God  
there is no God but He, the living, the  
Everlasting.  
Slumber seizes Him not, neither sleep; to Him  
belongs  
all that is in the heavens and the earth.  
Who is there that shall intercede with Him save  
by His leave?  
He knows what lies before them and what is  
after them,  
and they comprehend not anything of His  
knowledge save such as He wills.  
His Throne comprises the heavens and earth;  
the preserving of them oppresses Him not;  
He is the All-high, the All-glorious.*

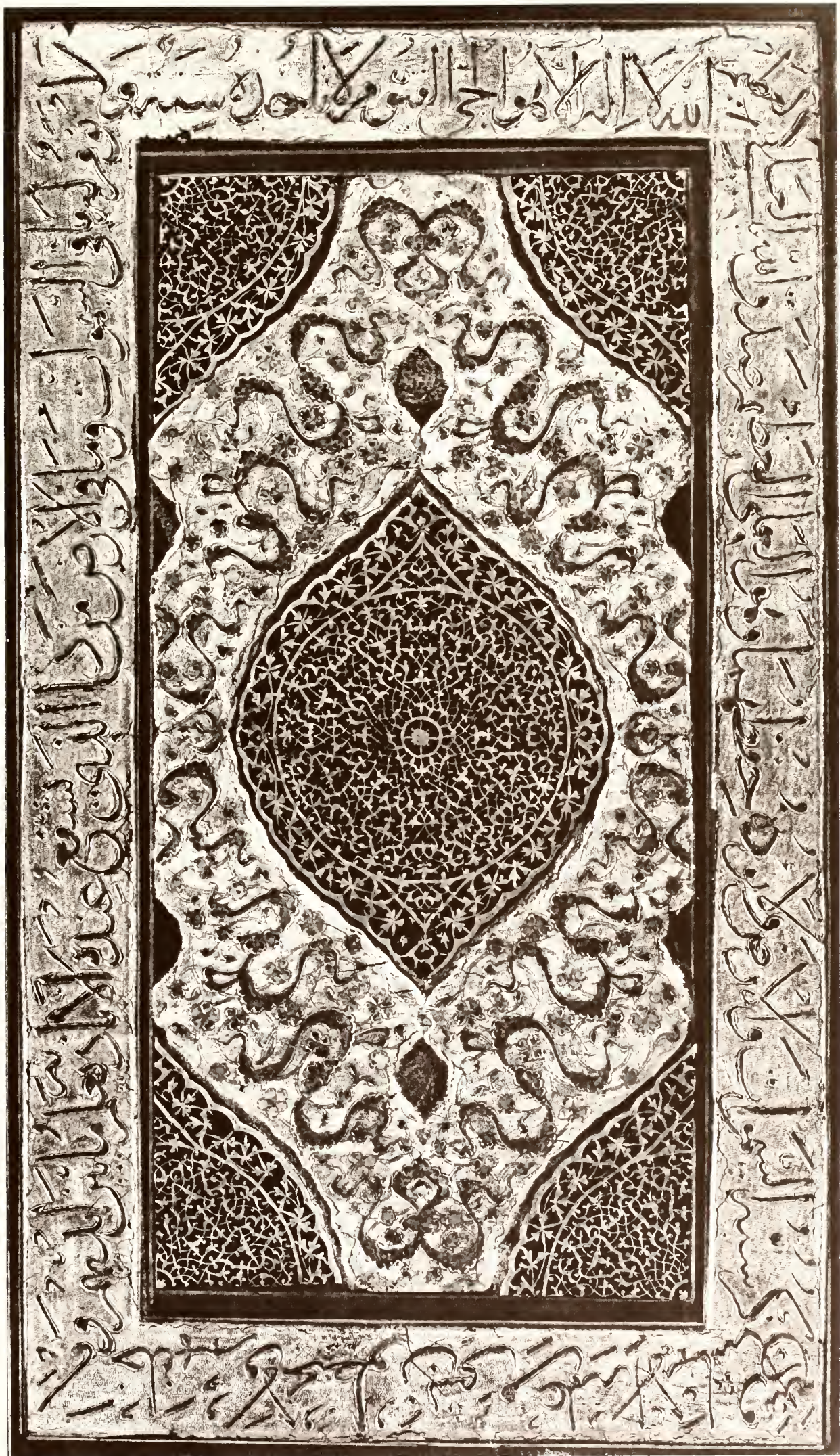
A portion of the verse is also repeated on the inside of the covers; on the back of the hinge, written in gold, are two more Qur'anic inscriptions: "Let none touch it but the purified!" and "A revelation from the Lord of the Worlds."

1. Dickson and Welch 1981, vol. 2, pls. 262 and 263.



Fig. 16. Leather binding, Iran, ca. 1530. Arthur M. Houghton Collection.





detail



## 48 Calligraphic Page

*nastaliq*

by Mir Ali (d. 1556)

Bukhara, dated A.H. 940 (A.D. 1533–34)

opaque watercolor and gold on paper

height 38.8 cm (15¼ in); width 25.7 cm (10⅛ in)

48.28r

This page comes from an album known as the Kevorkian album, named after the dealer responsible for its dispersal during the second quarter of this century. Now divided between the Freer Gallery of Art (which has nine pages) and the Metropolitan Museum of Art (which has forty-one pages and the covers), the album appears to have been assembled for the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan (r. 1628–57).<sup>1</sup> On the verso of this page is a portrait of Jahangir (r. 1605–27) inscribed to Abu'l Hasan.<sup>2</sup> The four verses of writing on this page can be translated as follows:

*When Mirza Khwajagi, that Asaf of the Age,  
Constructed such a noble edifice,  
The teacher "Wisdom" said for its date,  
"A wonderful, beautiful and fine mosque."*

*Composed and written by the needy Mir Ali,  
may Allah cover his defects.*<sup>3</sup>

The numerical equivalent of "A wonderful, beautiful and fine mosque," is 940, which corresponds to the date A.H. 940 (A.D. 1533–34) written at the bottom of the inscription. Mir Ali, also known as Mir Ali al-Husayni, was one of the Mughals's favorite calligraphers, and they continuously sought examples of his writing. The long, sweeping curves of the *nastaliq* used here, and the sharp, almost explosive flourishes of the endings of certain letters such as *nuns* (ن) and *sins* (س) are typical of Mir Ali's work. The calligraphy has been surrounded by a brilliant gold background decorated with scrolling flowers and flying birds. A fine red line separates the dark, bluish gray paper of the calligraphy from the gold ground, creating a vivid outline that enhances the flowing movement of the letters. The background, with its finely drawn flowers and realistically rendered birds, appears to have been added at the Mughal court—probably during the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, when this kind of work was typical<sup>4</sup>—as an embellishment to the page.<sup>5</sup>

1. For more information on the provenance and history of this album, see Beach 1981, pp. 177–92.

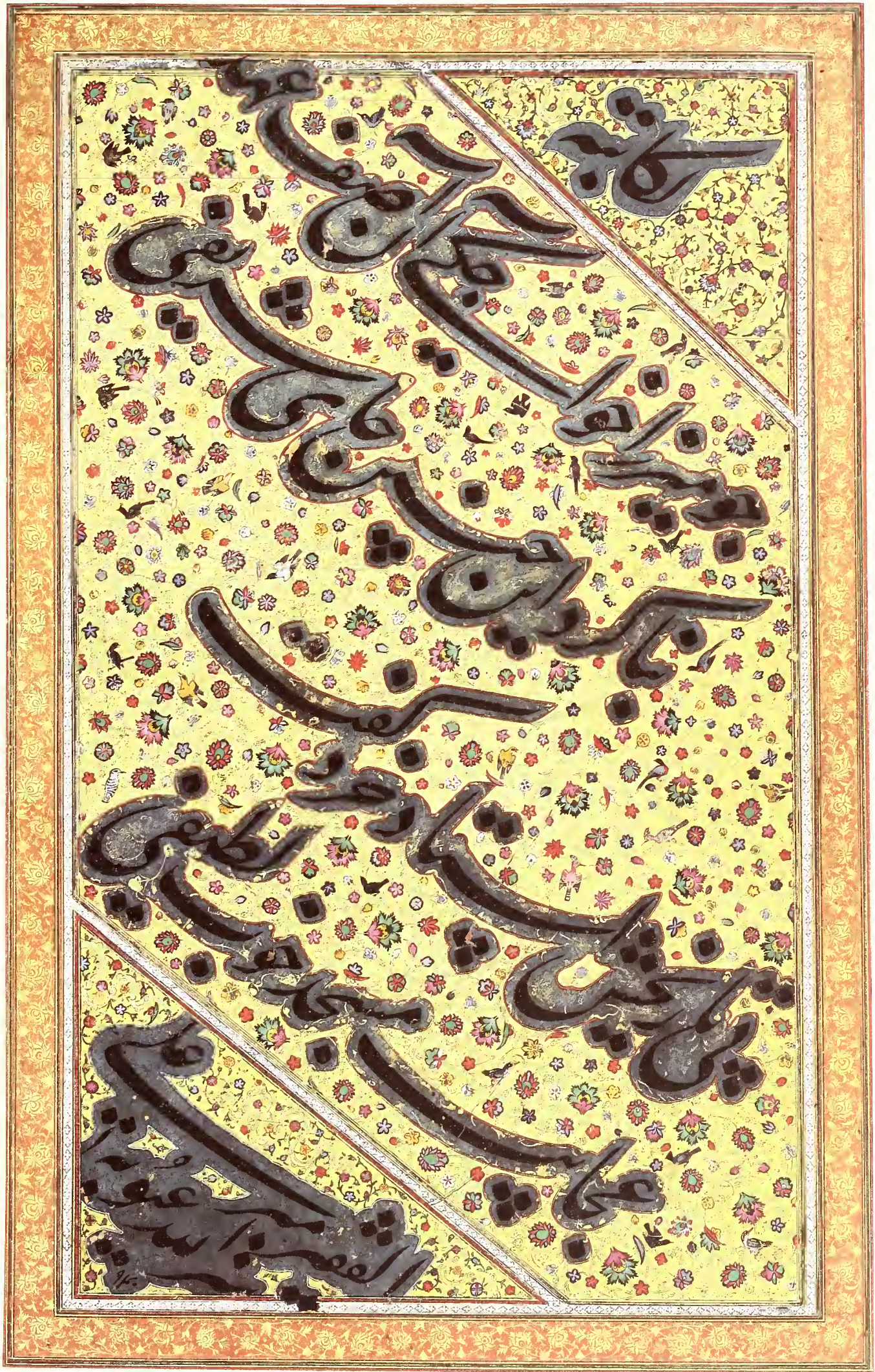
2. Illustrated in *ibid.*, p. 184.

3. I am grateful to Ibrahim Pourhadi of the Library of Congress and to Z. A. Desai for their help in translating these verses.

4. This kind of background can be seen in such manuscripts as a copy of the *Gulistan* of Sadi dated 1582–83, now in the collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain (a page of which is published in color in Michael Brand and Glenn D. Lowry, *Akbar's India: Art from the Mughal City of Victory* [New York: Asia Society, 1985], p. 66).

5. Although it is also possible that this work is contemporary with the calligraphy, its lines often run over the "margin," separating the writing from the background, which suggests that it is a later addition. Moreover, although there are precedents in mid-sixteenth-century Iranian painting for the naturalism of the birds, rarely are birds more than minor details in the overall design.







## 49 *Haft Manzar of Hatifi*

*nastaliq*

copied by Mir Ali (d. 1556) for Abd al-Aziz Bahadur Khan (r. 1534–39)  
Bukhara, dated A.H. 944 (A.D. 1538)  
ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper  
with a double frontispiece and two miniatures inscribed to Shaykh Zadeh  
per page: height 25.9 cm (10<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in); width 16.2 cm (6<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in)  
56.14; illustrated: folios 3v–4r

Hatifi was the pseudonym used by Abdallah Jami (d. 1520–21), the nephew of the celebrated poet Abdur Rahman Jami. Hatifi's *Haft Manzar* (Seven Visages) was composed as part of a "Quintet" inspired by the *Khamsa* of the early thirteenth-century poet Nizami.<sup>1</sup> On folio 3 recto is an elaborate inscription by Shah Jahan (r. 1628–57), the fifth Mughal ruler of India, indicating that the manuscript entered his library on the eighth of Jumada II, A.H. 1037 (A.D. February 14, 1628), the day of his accession to the throne, and was valued at four thousand rupees. Abu'l Ghazi Sultan Abd al-Aziz Bahadur, the patron of the manuscript, was the fourth Shaybanid ruler of Transoxiana. Under the Shaybanids (1500–1598), Bukhara became a major cultural center that attracted many Safavid artists such as Shaykh Zadeh. In 1528–29, when Herat was captured by the Shaybanids, Mir Ali was taken to Bukhara, where he worked until his death. According to the colophon, the manuscript was produced under the supervision of Sultan Mirak, the head of Abd al-Aziz's library, who "trained, theoretically and practically, calligraphers and painters to a level beyond description."<sup>2</sup> Considered one of the greatest calligraphers of his age, Mir Ali was especially renown for his mastery of *nastaliq*. Despite his prolific work under the Shaybanids (see cat. no. 48), he was extremely unhappy in Bukhara and even went so far as to record his thoughts in writing:

*A long life of exercise bent my body like a harp,  
Until the handwriting of this unfortunate one  
had become of such a canon  
That all the kings of the world sought me out,  
whereas  
In Bukhara, for means of existence, my liver is  
steeped in blood  
My entrails have been burnt up by sorrow. What  
am I to do?  
How shall I manage?  
For I have no way out of this town,  
This misfortune has fallen on my head for the  
beauty of my writing.  
Alas! Mastery in calligraphy has become a chain  
on  
the feet of this demented one.<sup>3</sup>*

1. Browne 1928, vol. 4, p. 229.

2. Khwaja Hasan Nisari as quoted by M. M. Ashrafi-Aini in his article "The School of Bukhara" in Gray 1979, p. 268.

3. Ahmad 1959, pp. 130–31.





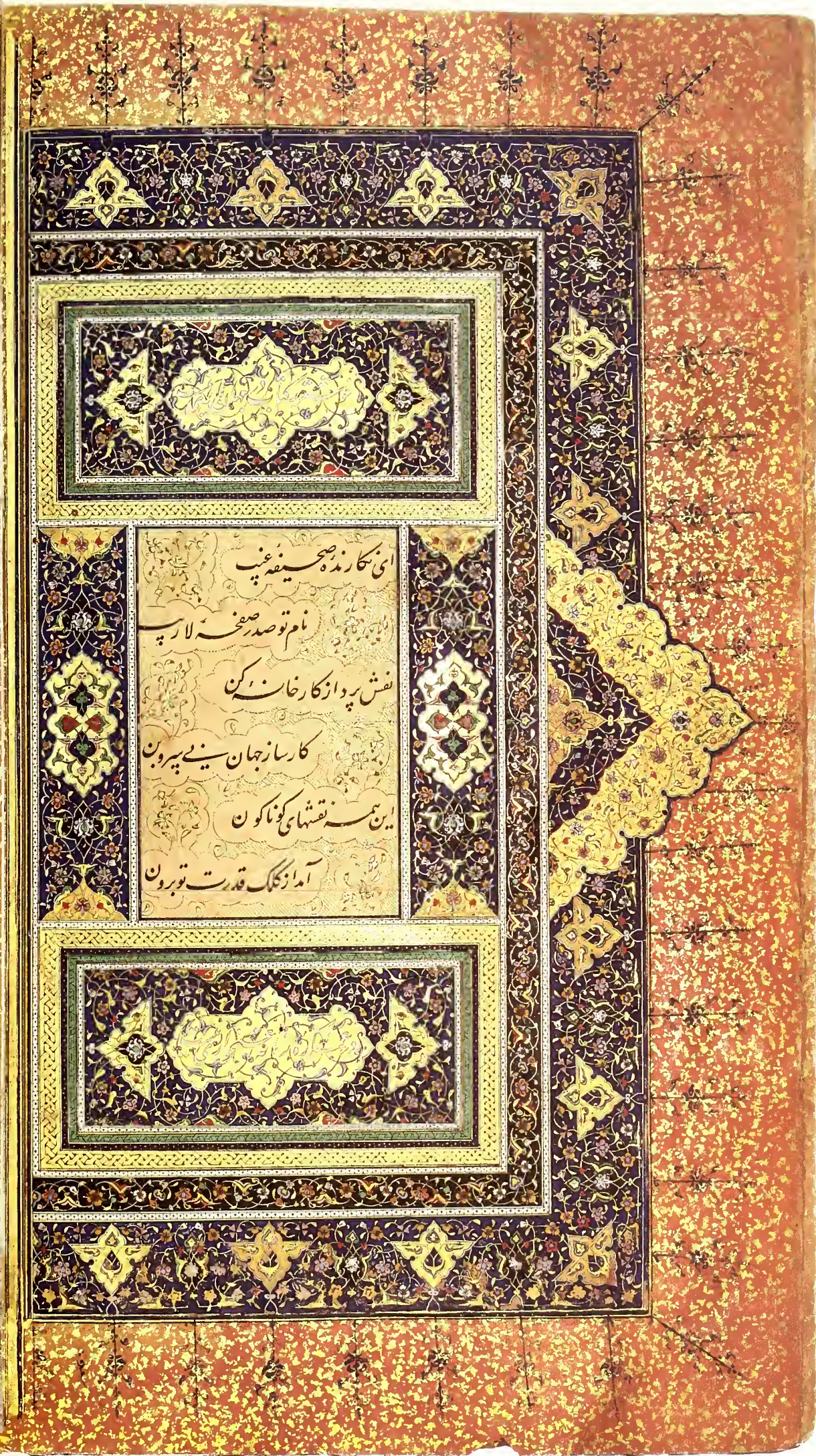
detail, 3v





folio 4r (left); 3v (right)



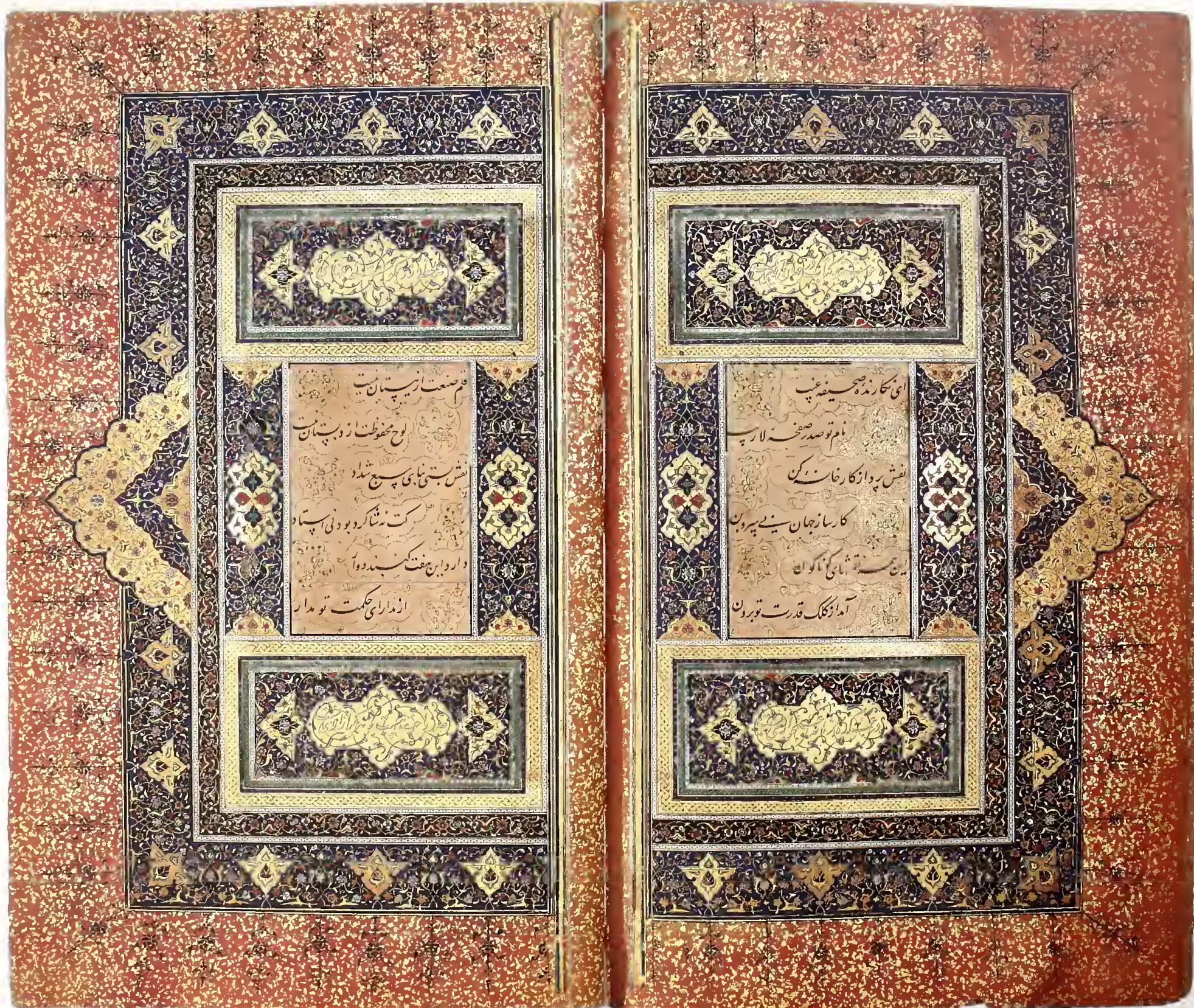


ای کارنده صحیفه غیب  
نام تو صدر صحیفه لارا پر  
نقش پرواز کارخان رکن  
کار ساز جهان سینه بیرون  
این مستنقشهای کونا کون  
آمد از کنگ قدرت تو بیرون











## 50 *Calligraphic Page*

### *tarassul*

by Kamal al-Din (d. A.D. 1556–57)

Herat, dated Ramadan A.H. 959 (A.D. August–September 1551)

opaque watercolor and gold on paper

height 22.8 cm (9 in); width 13.4 cm (5<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in)

29.64

This is one of three pages in the Freer Gallery signed by Kamal al-Din,<sup>1</sup> a sixteenth-century Iranian calligrapher. The looping connections of the long vertical letters (such as *lam* and *alif*) and the staggered placement of the words are typical of a type of writing known as *tarassul*, which is one of the *taliq*, or “hanging,” scripts. The curved alignment of the verses accentuates the script’s dense appearance. By using a combination of white, yellow, and blue inks, Kamal al-Din has added another element of complexity to the script’s inherently animated character. The result is a dramatic interweaving of line, color, and form. Kamal al-Din was a native of Herat who lived for some time in Qum before entering Shah Tahmasp’s service in Tabriz. He was known for his mastery of the six traditional scripts (see p. 103), diluting of lapis lazuli, and reading of the Qur’an. A humble dervish, he refused the many presents (which included, among other items, a tent, a horse, and a camel) that the shah tried to bestow on him.<sup>2</sup> He must, however, have been proud of the title he received from the shah, “Ikhtiyar al-Munshi al-Sultani,” for he used this, or a variation of this, on all of the pages in the Freer’s collection. At some point before his death in 1556–57, he returned to Herat, for he has stated on this page that it was executed there. The text, in heavily Arabicized Persian, is an address filled with good wishes for a high-ranking personality.

1. The others are 29.63 and 29.65.

2. Ahmad 1959, p. 152.







*nastaliq*

copied by Malik al-Dailami, Muhibb Ali, Shah Mahmud al-Nishapuri, Aishi ibn Ishrati, and Rustam Ali for Sultan Ibrahim Mirza

Iran, 1556–65

ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper

with twenty-eight miniatures

per page: height 34.2 cm (13½ in); width 23.2 cm (9⅛ in)

46.12; illustrated: folio 20r

This copy of Abdur Rahman Jami's *Haft Awrang* (Seven Thrones) is one of the most sumptuous Persian manuscripts ever produced. Each of its pages, written by the leading calligraphers of the Safavid court, is elaborately worked. The illuminations and miniatures that accompany the text are as dazzling as the calligraphy, and though none of the paintings is signed, several of them can be attributed to Shaykh Muhammad, Muzaffar Ali, and Mirza Ali, who were among the most important artists active in Iran during the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Sultan Ibrahim Mirza, the patron of the manuscript, was a nephew of Shah Tahmasp (r. 1524–76), who made him the governor of Mashhad in 1556 and permitted him to marry one of his daughters. An accomplished calligrapher and poet, Sultan Ibrahim maintained in Mashhad an extensive library (*kitabkhana*). The *Haft Awrang* has eight colophons stating that it was copied in three cities—Mashhad (colophons one, four, and five), Qazvin (colophon three), and Herat (colophon seven)—over a period of nine years beginning in October 1556 and ending on May 2, 1565. A ninth colophon would probably have been found on the now-missing final page.<sup>2</sup> Malik al-Dailami, who copied the first and third sections of the manuscript, was a native of Qazvin and excelled in writing all six of the standard scripts. He was originally attached to Shah Tahmasp's library, but sometime in the 1550s was appointed by the shah to Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's studio. He accompanied Ibrahim Mirza to Mashhad in 1556–57, but was ordered by Shah Tahmasp to return to Qazvin a year and a half later.<sup>3</sup> He remained in Qazvin until his death in 1561–62. Muhibb Ali, Sultan Ibrahim's librarian, copied the fourth and eighth sections of the manuscript. He was noted for his ability to write in either a minuscule or large hand. Shah Mahmud al-Nishapuri (see cat. no. 46) was responsible for the fifth part of the manuscript. The sixth section of the text was copied by Aishi ibn Ishrati, a native of Herat who wrote in the manner of Sultan Muhammad Nur. He worked in Sultan Ibrahim's library in Mashhad. Rustam Ali, who copied the seventh section of the manuscript, was a nephew of the great

Timurid painter Bihzad. He was employed by Bahram Mirza, Sultan Ibrahim's father, before joining the latter in Mashhad, where he died in 1562–63.<sup>4</sup> The *nastaliq* used by these masters in the copying of the text is remarkable for its uniform high quality and brilliant control of line.

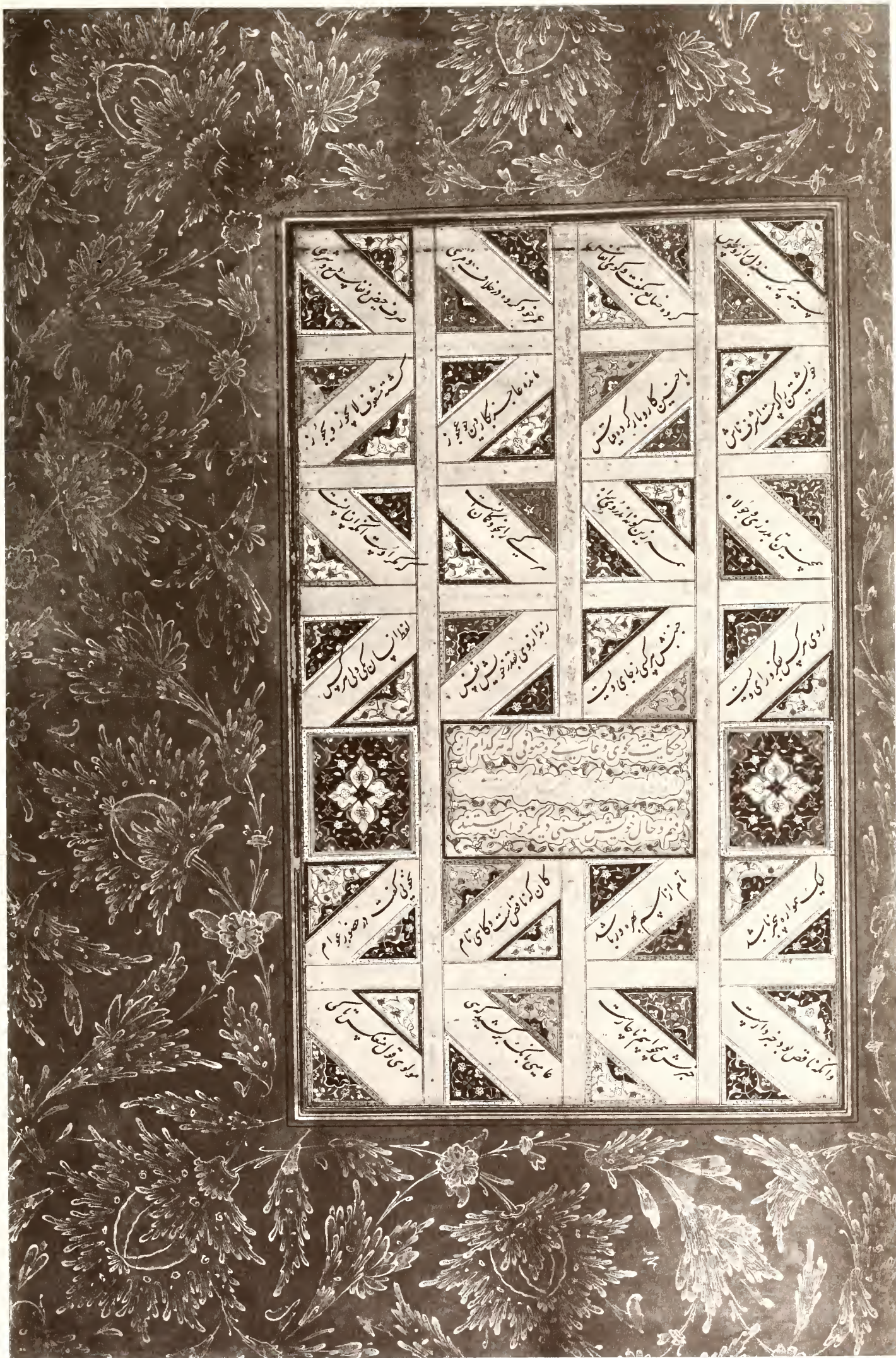
1. For more information on the painters of the *Haft Awrang*, see Dickson and Welch 1981, vol. 1, pp. 129–69.

2. For a detailed discussion of the manuscript's production, see Marianna Shreve Simpson, "The Production and Patronage of the *Haft Awrang* by Jami in the Freer Gallery of Art," *Ars Orientalis* 13 (1982): 93–111.

3. This move, occasioned by the shah's desire to have Malik al-Dailami do the inscriptions for his newly constructed *daulatkhana*, occurred while he was in the midst of copying the third section of the manuscript.

4. Ahmad 1959, pp. 141–44, 147, and 153–54.







## 52 Page from an Album of Jahangir

*nastaliq*

India, ca. 1600

ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper

height 42.5 cm (16¾ in); width 26.6 cm (10½ in)

54.116r

This page once formed part of an album assembled for Nur al-Din Jahangir (r. 1605–27), the fourth Mughal ruler of India.<sup>1</sup> The borders, which depict artisans of a library at work, were painted at the beginning of the seventeenth century; the calligraphic panel in the center of the page can be attributed to sixteenth-century Iran. Beginning at the upper left and moving counterclockwise, the borders show a burnisher smoothing and polishing paper, a stamper creating designs in a leather cover, a sizer trimming the leaves of a manuscript, a woodworker sawing a bookstand, a gilder preparing gold leaf, and a calligrapher writing. Another folio from this album (fig. 17), now in the Staatsbibliothek für Preussischer Kulturbesitz, West Berlin, also depicting artisans of a library, probably formed its facing page.<sup>2</sup> Pasted onto the sides of the panel of calligraphy is an attribution to Mir Ali al-Sultani (ca. 1340–1420), one of the great Iranian masters of *nastaliq*. The verses can be translated as follows:<sup>3</sup>

*Pir-i Herat says,*

*“Don’t eat anyone else’s bread*

*And do not withhold your bread from anyone*

*And don’t be afraid of being a dervish [i.e.,*

*poor].*

*Know that the Bestower is God.*

*Eat that which God has granted you, because*

*It will never diminish.*

*Consider the little one you have*

*Better than the much others possess.”<sup>4</sup>*

Although this piece is attributed to Mir Ali al-Sultani, it seems much closer to the writing of the sixteenth-century calligrapher Mir Ali al-Husayni, whose work was passionately collected by the Mughals—a practice that made them easy targets for unscrupulous merchants. Their interest in his work undoubtedly stems from the time of Zahir ad-Din Muhammad Babur, the founder of the dynasty, in whose honor Mir Ali composed such poems as the following:

*You are the leader of the century and the head of*  
*all the Homeless,*

*You are the valorous Khaqan and the Khidr of*  
*the times.*

*After your writings there is no longer in the*  
*universe*

*Any other compendium of ideas, O Shah of the*  
*kingdom of letters.<sup>5</sup>*

Although it is often difficult to distinguish between genuine and spurious works by Mir Ali, the open, almost loose manner of the calligraphy on this page, with its heavy letters, is quite different from the tight, carefully controlled writing of the *Haft Manzar* (cat. no. 49) and from the calligraphic page signed and dated by him also in this exhibition (cat. no. 48).

1. Three major groups of Jahangir album pages and several dispersed pages are known. The majority of pages are in the former Imperial Library in Tehran; a second group is now in the Staatsbibliothek für Preussischer Kulturbesitz, West Berlin; and a third series was recently in a private collection in Tehran. For more on Jahangir’s albums, see Beach 1981, p. 156.

2. Fol. 18a is published in Ernst Kuhnelt and Hermann Goetz, *Indische Buchmalereien aus dem Jahangir-Album der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin* (Berlin: Scarabaeus Verlag, 1924), p. 20.

3. Z. A. Desai has noted that this verse is from the *Munajat* of Abu Ismail Abdallah Ansari of Herat who lived from 1006 to 1088. For more on this poet, see Browne 1928, vol. 2, pp. 269–70.

4. I am grateful to Annemarie Schimmel of Harvard University for her help with this translation.

5. Ahmad 1959, p. 129.

Published: Beach 1981, no. 16b; Atil 1978, no. 63.



Fig. 17. Illuminated page of calligraphy from the Berlin Jahangir Album (assembled ca. 1608–18). Berlin, Staatsbibliothek für Preussischer Kulturbesitz, fol. 18a.







## 53 *Rectangular Plaque*

*naskhi*

Iran, 16th century

steel cut from forged sheet and pierced

height 7.8 cm (3 $\frac{1}{16}$  in); length 27.0 cm (10 $\frac{9}{16}$  in)

39.45



Although only a fragment of a larger piece, this plaque is a visual tour de force. Its composition, which consists of a scrolling pattern of blossoms and flowers, and two cartouches containing Arabic inscriptions in *naskhi*, appears simple but is extremely complicated. The arabesques of the scrolls, for instance, expand and contract depending upon the words inscribed over them. In a similar manner the scrolling between the cartouches is denser than it is inside them. The result is that the inscription (“Oh reviver of the dead/ Accord your protection to the prince/ Verily how excellent [is] the reviver”) seems to be caught in a web of vines and tendrils that emphasize the dynamic movement of the letters. The inscription’s references to death and resurrection suggest that the plaque may have once been used in a funerary context.

Published: *Atil* 1985, no. 29

## 54 *Circular Ornament*

*naskhi*

Iran, late 16th to early 17th century  
steel cut from forged sheet and hammered; pierced and overlaid with gold  
diameter 4.7 cm (1<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in)

40.9

This boldly patterned ornament is made up of contrasts in terms of both its colors and its design. The brilliant gold overlays that outline the edges of the ornament and make up the inscription are set against the darkness of the steel; the flowing *naskhi* characters of the Arabic inscription appear to float against the tightly scrolling arabesques of the background. The inscription, "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful," known as the *basmala*, is a pious invocation that could have been used in either a secular or religious context.

Published: Atil 1985, no. 30





*divani*

Turkey, dated the 12th of Jumada II A.H. 1105 (A.D. February 8, 1694)

ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper  
height 164 cm (64½ in); width 48 cm (19 in)Gift of the Honorable and Mrs. George McGhee  
1985.16

This firman, or imperial edict, was issued by Sultan Ahmed II (r. 1691–95) to Mehmed Remi Pasha, an official of his court. At the top of the firman, in the middle of a flaming halo of golden tendrils, is the sultan's *tughra*, or monogram, which reads, "Ahmed ibn Ibrahim Han el-Muzaffer Daima." Below this, written in fine *divani*, or court, script on a gold-sprinkled ground with alternating passages in black and gold inks, is the text of the firman that grants Mehmed Remi Pasha lands in the district of Sarmin in the province of Aleppo.<sup>1</sup> According to the firman, Mehmed Remi Pasha possessed a grant of income from Havin in Biga Province worth 22,055 *akce* and was wounded and crippled while in the service of the royal court at Belgrade. The lands that he received in this firman, which superseded his previous grant, had an annual income of 223,180 *akce*, of which Mehmed Remi Pasha was allowed to keep one hundred thousand; the rest was to be remitted to the royal treasury. There is a note on the firman that Mustafa II (r. 1695–1703), Sultan Ahmed's successor, reconfirmed the grant in 1694–95. Although Sultan Ahmed's rule was short, it is clear from both the quality of the script and the drawing of his *tughra* that he had access to many of the great court artists who had worked for his predecessors.

1. I am grateful to Dr. Christopher Murphy of the Library of Congress for his translation of this document.



detail, opposite







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# List of Names and Terms

with life, period, and regnal dates

## Chinese

| Pinyin                                           | Wade-Giles        | Chinese Script |
|--------------------------------------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Anyang                                           | An-yang           | 安陽             |
| Baiyang shanren<br>(see Chen Shun)               | Pai-yang shan-jen | 白陽山人           |
| Baomuzhi                                         | Pao-mu-chih       | 保母誌            |
| Bao Shichen<br>(1775-1855)                       | Pao Shih-ch'en    | 包世臣            |
| bei                                              | pei               | 碑              |
| bi                                               | pi                | 筆              |
| Bo Juyi<br>(772-846)                             | Po Chü-i          | 白居易            |
| Cai Yu<br>(ca. 1472-1541)                        | Ts'ai Yü          | 蔡羽             |
| Cao                                              | Ts'ao             | 曹              |
| caoshu                                           | ts'ao-shu         | 草書             |
| Chan                                             | Ch'an             | 禪              |
| Chen Daofu<br>(see Chen Shun)                    | Ch'en Tao-fu      | 陳道復            |
| Chen Mengjia<br>(1911-1966)                      | Ch'en Meng-chia   | 陳夢家            |
| Chen Shun<br>(1483-1544)                         | Ch'en Shun        | 陳淳             |
| Cheng Nanyun<br>(act. 1400-1450)                 | Ch'eng Nan-yün    | 程南雲            |
| Cheng Wang<br>(traditionally,<br>1115-1079 B.C.) | Ch'eng Wang       | 成王             |
| Chu                                              | Ch'u              | 楚              |
| Congyu<br>(see Zhang Heng)                       | Ts'ung-yü         | 葱玉             |
| Dao                                              | Tao               | 道              |
| Daoguang<br>(r. 1821-50)                         | Tao-kuang         | 道光             |
| Daozhou                                          | Tao-chou          | 道州             |
| Datong                                           | Ta-t'ung          | 大同             |
| dazhuan                                          | ta-chuan          | 大篆             |
| Ding                                             | Ting              | 丁              |
| Du Fu<br>(712-770)                               | Tu Fu             | 杜甫             |
| Duhualu                                          | Tu-hua-lu         | 讀畫錄            |

| Pinyin                            | Wade-Giles    | Chinese Script | Pinyin                               | Wade-Giles               | Chinese Script |
|-----------------------------------|---------------|----------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| Dunhuang                          | Tun-huang     | 敦煌             | Huaguang                             | Hua-kuang                | 華光             |
| fangcun                           | fang-ts'un    | 方尊             | Huaisu                               | Huai-su                  | 懷素             |
| fangyi                            | fang-i        | 方彝             | Huang Gongwang                       | Huang Kung-wang          | 黃公望            |
| Fu                                | Fu            | 復              | Huang Shen                           | Huang Shen               | 黃慎             |
| Fu Qingzhu<br>(see Fu Shan)       | Fu Ch'ing-chu | 傅青主            | Huang Tingjian                       | Huang T'ing-chien        | 黃庭堅            |
| Fu Shan<br>(1607-1684)            | Fu Shan       | 傅山             | Huang Yingpiao                       | Huang Ying-p'iao         | 黃癭瓢            |
| Fujian                            | Fukien        | 福建             | <i>Huangtingjing</i>                 | <i>Huang-t'ing-ching</i> | 黃庭經            |
| Gansu                             | Kansu         | 甘肅             | Hunan                                | Hunan                    | 湖南             |
| Gao Cen<br>(act. mid-17th C.)     | Kao Ts'en     | 高岑             | jiaguwen                             | chia-ku-wen              | 甲骨文            |
| Gao Fu<br>(act. mid-17th C.)      | Kao Fu        | 高阜             | Jiangnan                             | Chiang-nan               | 江南             |
| Ge Xuan<br>(act. 3d C.)           | Ko Hsüan      | 葛玄             | Jiangsu                              | Kiangsu                  | 江蘇             |
| Gu Kaizhi<br>(341-402)            | Ku K'ai-chih  | 顧愷之            | Jiangxi                              | Kiangsi                  | 江西             |
| Guangdong                         | Kwangtung     | 廣東             | jiashen                              | chia-shen                | 甲申             |
| Guangxi                           | Kwangsi       | 廣西             | Jiaxing                              | Chia-hsing               | 嘉興             |
| guichou                           | kuei-ch'ou    | 癸丑             | Jin                                  | Chin                     | 金              |
| Guizhou                           | Kweichow      | 貴州             | Jing Hao<br>(act. early 10th C.)     | Ching Hao                | 荆浩             |
| Guo Tienxi<br>(ca. 1235-ca. 1302) | Kuo T'ien-hsi | 郭天錫            | jinshi                               | chin-shih                | 進士             |
| Hailing                           | Hai-ling      | 海陵             | jinwen                               | chin-wen                 | 金文             |
| Han<br>(206 B.C.-A.D. 220)        | Han           | 漢              | Juyen                                | Chu-yen                  | 居延             |
| Hangzhou                          | Hangchow      | 杭州             | kaishu                               | k'ai-shu                 | 楷書             |
| Hanlin                            | Han-lin       | 翰林             | Kangli Nao<br>(see Kangli Naonao)    | K'ang-li Nao             | 康里巛巛           |
| Hedong                            | Ho-tung       | 鶴東             | Kangli Naonao<br>(1295-1345)         | K'ang-li Nao-nao         | 康里巛巛巛          |
| He Linghan<br>(1772-1840)         | Ho Ling-han   | 何凌漢            | Kangli Zishan<br>(see Kangli Naonao) | K'ang-li Tzu-shan        | 康里子山           |
| He Shaoji<br>(1799-1873)          | Ho Shao-chi   | 何紹基            | Kong Rong<br>(153-208)               | K'ung Jung               | 孔融             |
| He Zizhen<br>(see He Shaoji)      | Ho Tzu-chen   | 何子貞            | Kong Zhou<br>(103-163)               | K'ung Chou               | 孔宙             |
| Henan (Duke)                      | Honan         | 河南王            | Kuaiji                               | K'uai-chi                | 會稽             |
| Henan (province)                  | Honan         | 河南             | Lanting                              | Lan-t'ing                | 蘭亭             |



| Pinyin                       | Wade-Giles           | Chinese Script | Pinyin                                            | Wade-Giles             | Chinese Script |
|------------------------------|----------------------|----------------|---------------------------------------------------|------------------------|----------------|
| <i>Lanting xu</i>            | <i>Lan-t'ing hsü</i> | 蘭亭叙            | Muan Xiangtao<br>[J]:Mokuan Shōtō]<br>(1611-1684) | Mu-an Hsiang-t'ao      | 木庵性瑤           |
| Laozi<br>(act. 6th C. B.C.)  | Lao-tzu              | 老子             | Nanjing                                           | Nanking                | 南京             |
| Li Chang<br>(1027-1090)      | Li Ch'ang            | 李常             | Ni Zan<br>(1301-1374)                             | Ni Tsan                | 倪瓚             |
| Li Gonglin<br>(1049-1106)    | Li Kung-lin          | 李公麟            | Nie                                               | Nieh                   | 倪              |
| Li Peng<br>(ca. 1060-1110)   | Li P'eng             | 李彭             | Ouyang Xun<br>(557-641)                           | Ou-yang Hsün           | 歐陽詢            |
| Li Shanglao<br>(see Li Peng) | Li Shang-lao         | 李商老            | Pengze                                            | P'eng-tse              | 彭澤             |
| Li Si<br>(d. 208 B.C.)       | Li Szu               | 李斯             | Qianlong<br>(r. 1736-95)                          | Ch'ien-lung            | 乾隆             |
| Li Yangbing<br>(act. 759-80) | Li Yang-ping         | 李陽冰            | Qin<br>(221-207 B.C.)                             | Ch'in                  | 秦              |
| Li Yingzhen<br>(1431-1493)   | Li Ying-chen         | 李應楨            | Qing<br>(1644-1911)                               | Ch'ing                 | 清              |
| Li Yiru<br>(ca. 330-379)     | Li I-ju              | 李意如            | Qingteng                                          | Ch'ing-t'eng           | 青藤             |
| Li Yung<br>(673-747)         | Li Yung              | 李筌             | Qufu                                              | Ch'ü-fu                | 曲阜             |
| Li Ziho<br>(act. ca.1750)    | Li Tzu-ho            | 李子和            | <i>Sanxitang</i>                                  | <i>San-hsi-t'ang</i>   | 三希堂            |
| Li Ziming<br>(see Li Ziho)   | Li Tzu-ming          | 李志明            | Shandong                                          | Shantung               | 山東             |
| Lianfu<br>(see Yang Weizhen) | Lien-fu              | 廉夫             | Shang<br>(ca.1523-1028 B.C.)                      | Shang                  | 商              |
| Linji [J]:Rinzai]            | Lin-chi              | 臨濟             | Shangguan Zhou<br>(1665-ca.1749)                  | Shang-kuan Chou        | 上官周            |
| lishu                        | li-shu               | 隸書             | Shanxi                                            | Shansi                 | 山西             |
| Liu Gongquan<br>(778-865)    | Liu Kung-ch'üan      | 柳公權            | Shaoxing                                          | Shao-hsing             | 紹興             |
| Loyang                       | Loyang               | 洛陽             | Shen Zhou<br>(1427-1509)                          | Shen Chou              | 沈周             |
| Lü                           | Lü                   | 呂律             | <i>Shengjiao xu</i>                               | <i>Sheng-chiao hsü</i> | 聖教序            |
| lüshi                        | lü-shih              | 律詩             | Shitao<br>(1642-1707)                             | Shih-t'ao              | 石濤             |
| Mi Fu<br>(1051-1107)         | Mi Fu                | 米芾             | Shundi, Emperor                                   | Shun-ti                | 順帝             |
| Min                          | Min                  | 閩              | Sichuan                                           | Szechwan               | 四川             |
| Ming<br>(1368-1644)          | Ming                 | 明              | Song<br>(960-1279)                                | Sung                   | 宋              |
| Ming Bao                     | Ming Pao             | 明保             | Songfeng                                          | Sung-feng              | 松風             |
|                              |                      |                | Songjiang                                         | Sung-chiang            | 松江             |
|                              |                      |                | Songxue<br>(see Zhao Mengfu)                      | Sung-hsüch             | 松雪             |

| Pinyin                               | Wade-Giles             | Chinese Script | Pinyin                            | Wade-Giles      | Chinese Script |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Su Shi<br>(1036-1101)                | Su Shih                | 蘇軾             | Wen Tong<br>(1018-1079)           | Wen T'ung       | 文同             |
| Sui<br>(581-618)                     | Sui                    | 隋              | Wen Zhengming<br>(1470-1559)      | Wen Cheng-ming  | 文徵明            |
| Suijinggong daoren                   | Sui-ching-kung tao-jen | 水精宮道人          | wenren                            | wen-jen         | 文人             |
| Sun Shouyong<br>(act. ca. 1225)      | Sun Shou-yung          | 孫守榮            | Wu<br>(220-280)                   | Wu              | 吳              |
| Suzhou                               | Soochow                | 蘇州             | Wu Changshuo<br>(1844-1927)       | Wu Ch'ang-shuo  | 吳昌碩            |
| Tang<br>(618-907)                    | T'ang                  | 唐              | Wu Kuan<br>(1435-1504)            | Wu K'uan        | 吳寬             |
| Tang Taizong, Emperor<br>(r. 626-49) | T'ang T'ai-tsung       | 唐太宗            | Wu Rangzhi<br>(see Wu Tingyang)   | Wu Jang-chih    | 吳讓之            |
| Tang Yin<br>(1470-1523)              | T'ang Yin              | 唐寅             | Wu Tingyang<br>(1799-1879)        | Wu T'ing-yang   | 吳廷飏            |
| Tao Qian<br>(365-427)                | T'ao Ch'ien            | 陶潛             | Wu Xizai<br>(see Wu Tingyang)     | Wu Hsi-tsai     | 吳熙載            |
| Tianfa Shencan                       | T'ien-fa Shen-ts'an    | 天發神識           | Wu Zhen<br>(1280-1354)            | Wu Chen         | 吳鎮             |
| Tianli<br>(1328-30)                  | T'ien-li               | 天曆             | Wuxing                            | Wu-hsing        | 吳興             |
| tie                                  | t'ieh                  | 帖              | Xia Chang<br>(1388-1470)          | Hsia Ch'ang     | 夏昞             |
| Tieti daoren<br>(see Yang Weizhen)   | T'ieh-t'i tao-jen      | 鐵籛道人           | Xiao                              | Hsiao           | 蕭篆             |
| Tieyai<br>(see Yang Weizhen)         | T'ieh-yai              | 鐵崖             | xiaozhuan                         | hsiao-chuan     | 小篆             |
| Tingzhou                             | T'ing-chou             | 汀州             | Xin                               | Hsin            | 昕              |
| Wang Bangxiang<br>(act. ca. 1500)    | Wang Pang-hsiang       | 王邦相            | xingshu                           | hsing-shu       | 行書             |
| Wang Chong<br>(1494-1533)            | Wang Ch'ung            | 王寵             | Xu Chunfu<br>(act. early 20th C.) | Hsü Ch'un-fu    | 許春父            |
| Wang Meng<br>(ca. 1301-1385)         | Wang Meng              | 王蒙             | Xu Sangeng<br>(1806-1890)         | Hsü San-keng    | 徐三庚            |
| Wang Shouren<br>(1472-1529)          | Wang Shou-jen          | 王守仁            | Xu Wei<br>(1521-1593)             | Hsü Wei         | 徐渭             |
| Wang Yangming<br>(see Wang Shouren)  | Wang Yang-ming         | 王陽明            | Xu Zhenqing<br>(1479-1511)        | Hsü Chen-ch'ing | 徐禎卿            |
| Wang Xienzhi<br>(344-386)            | Wang Hsien-chih        | 王獻之            | Yang Ningshi<br>(873-954)         | Yang Ning-shih  | 楊凝式            |
| Wang Xizhi<br>(ca. 303-ca. 361)      | Wang Hsi-chih          | 王羲之            | Yang Weizhen<br>(1296-1370)       | Yang Wei-chen   | 楊維禎            |
| Wen Bi<br>(see Wen Zhengming)        | Wen Pi                 | 文壁             | Yangzhou                          | Yangchow        | 揚州             |
|                                      |                        |                | Yangming                          | Yang-ming       | 陽明             |
|                                      |                        |                | Yangzi                            | Yangtze River   | 揚子江            |



| Pinyin                           | Wade-Giles      | Chinese Script | Pinyin                            | Wade-Giles    | Chinese Script |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------------------------|---------------|----------------|
| Yen Zhenqing<br>(709-785)        | Yen Chen-ch'ing | 顏真卿            | Zhu Hanzhi<br>(act. mid-17th C.)  | Chu Han-chih  | 朱翰之            |
| Yi                               | I               | 尹              | Zhu Yunming<br>(1461-1527)        | Chu Yün-ming  | 祝允明            |
| Yishan                           | I-shan          | 繹山             | zhuanshu                          | chuan-shu     | 篆書             |
| Yizheng                          | I-cheng         | 儀徵             | Zhuda<br>(1624-1705)              | Chu Ta        | 朱奔             |
| Yonglo, Emperor<br>(r. 1403-24)  | Yung-lo         | 永樂             | Zhuge                             | Chu-ko        | 諸葛             |
| Yuan<br>(1279-1368)              | Yüan            | 元              | Zhuyi daoren<br>(see Fu Shan)     | Chu-i Tao-jen | 朱衣道人           |
| Yuan Yuzhi<br>(1499-1576)        | Yüan Yü-chih    | 袁與之            | zi                                | tzu           | 字              |
| Yuansou                          | Yüan-sou        | 媛叟             | Ziang<br>(see Zhao Mengfu)        | Tzu-ang       | 子昂             |
| Yuyao                            | Yü-yao          | 餘姚             | Zou Fulei<br>(ca. 1300-ca. 1360)  | Tsou Fu-lei   | 鄒復雷            |
| Zhang Heng<br>(1914-1963)        | Chang Heng      | 張珩             | Zou Fuyuan<br>(ca. 1300-ca. 1360) | Tsou Fu-yüan  | 鄒復元            |
| Zhang Jizhi<br>(1166-1286)       | Chang Chi-chih  | 張即之            |                                   |               |                |
| Zhang Zhiho<br>(act. 8th C.)     | Chang Chih-ho   | 張志和            |                                   |               |                |
| zhangcao                         | chang-ts'ao     | 章草             |                                   |               |                |
| Zhao Mengfu<br>(1254-1322)       | Chao Meng-fu    | 趙孟頫            |                                   |               |                |
| Zhao Wang<br>(see Cheng Wang)    | Chao Wang       | 昭王             |                                   |               |                |
| Zhao Wenmin<br>(see Zhao Mengfu) | Chao Wen-min    | 趙文敏            |                                   |               |                |
| Zhao Zhiqian<br>(1829-1884)      | Chao Chi-ch'ien | 趙之謙            |                                   |               |                |
| Zhejiang                         | Chekiang        | 浙江             |                                   |               |                |
| Zhengtong<br>(r. 1436-49)        | Cheng-t'ung     | 正統             |                                   |               |                |
| Zhenjiang                        | Chen-chiang     | 鎮江             |                                   |               |                |
| Zhizheng<br>(r. 1341-68)         | Chih-cheng      | 至正             |                                   |               |                |
| zhongdingwen                     | chung-ting-wen  | 鐘鼎文            |                                   |               |                |
| Zhou<br>(ca. 1027-221 B. C.)     | Chou            | 周              |                                   |               |                |
| Zhou Lianggong<br>(1612-1672)    | Chou Liang-kung | 周亮工            |                                   |               |                |
| Zhou Mi<br>(1232-1298)           | Chou Mi         | 周密             |                                   |               |                |

Japanese

|                                                 |       |
|-------------------------------------------------|-------|
| agedatami                                       | 上疊    |
| Bishamon-ten                                    | 毘沙門天  |
| bokuseki                                        | 墨蹟    |
| bunjin                                          | 文人    |
| Daitoku-ji                                      | 大德寺   |
| Edo<br>(1615-1868)                              | 江戸    |
| <i>Eiga taigai</i>                              | 詠歌大概  |
| fude                                            | 筆     |
| Fugen                                           | 普賢    |
| Fujiwara                                        | 藤原    |
| Fujiwara no Ariie<br>(1155-1216)                | 藤原有家  |
| Fujiwara no Kintō<br>(996-1041)                 | 藤原公任  |
| Fujiwara no Kōzei<br>(see Fujiwara no Yukinari) | 藤原行成  |
| Fujiwara no Nobuzane<br>(1176?-1265?)           | 藤原信實  |
| Fujiwara no Sadaie<br>(see Fujiwara no Teika)   | 藤原定家  |
| Fujiwara no Sadanobu<br>(1088-1156)             | 藤原定信  |
| Fujiwara no Shunzei<br>(1114-1204)              | 藤原俊成  |
| Fujiwara no Tameie<br>(1198-1275)               | 藤原為家  |
| Fujiwara no Teika<br>(1162-1241)                | 藤原定家  |
| Fujiwara no Yoshitsune<br>(1169-1241)           | 藤原良經  |
| Fujiwara no Yukinari<br>(972-1027)              | 藤原行成  |
| Fushimi, Emperor<br>(1265-1317, r. 1287-98)     | 伏見天王  |
| fusuma                                          | 襖     |
| gampishi                                        | 雁皮紙   |
| Gion Nankai<br>(1677-1751)                      | 祇園南海  |
| Gomizunoo, Emperor<br>(1596-1680, r. 1611-29)   | 後水尾天皇 |



|                                            |          |                                               |       |
|--------------------------------------------|----------|-----------------------------------------------|-------|
| Gonara, Emperor<br>(1496–1557, r. 1526–57) | 後奈良天皇    | Kii                                           | 紀伊    |
| <i>Gosen wakashū</i> ( <i>Gosenshū</i> )   | 後撰和歌集    | Ki no Tsurayuki<br>(872?–ca. 946)             | 紀貫之   |
| gyōsho                                     | 行書       | Kōetsu<br>(see Hon'ami Kōetsu)                | 光悅    |
| Hachisuka                                  | 降須賀      | Kōgetsu Sōgan<br>(1574–1643)                  | 江月宗玩  |
| Hayashi Razan<br>(1583–1657)               | 林羅山      | Kojima Sōshin<br>(1580–ca. 1656)              | 小島宗真  |
| Heian<br>(794–1185)                        | 平安       | <i>Kokin wakashū</i> ( <i>Kokinshū</i> )      | 古今和歌集 |
| Heian-kyō                                  | 平安京      | Konoe Nobutada<br>(1565–1614)                 | 近衛信尹  |
| hiragana                                   | 平仮名      | Kōrin<br>(1658–1716)                          | 光琳    |
| <i>Hokke-kyō</i>                           | 法華經      | Kōriyama                                      | 郡山    |
| Hon'ami Kōetsu<br>(1558–1637)              | 本阿弥光悦    | <i>Kōya-gire</i>                              | 高野切   |
| Igarashi                                   | 五十嵐      | Kōzei<br>(see Fujiwara no Yukinari)           | 行成    |
| Ishikawa                                   | 石川       | Kyoto                                         | 京都    |
| <i>Ishiyama-gire</i>                       | 石山切      | Mampuku-ji                                    | 萬福寺   |
| Jitsuin<br>(act. ca. mid-13th C.)          | 實印       | <i>Man'yōshū</i>                              | 萬葉集   |
| Jōō<br>(1652–55)                           | 承応       | Masatsune<br>(act. early 17th C.)             | 政常    |
| Kaga                                       | 加賀       | Matsuki Bunkyo<br>(1867–1940)                 | 松本文恭  |
| kaishi                                     | 懷紙       | Memyō bosatsu                                 | 馬鳴菩薩  |
| kaisho                                     | 楷書       | Mii-dera<br>(see also Onjō-ji)                | 三井寺   |
| Kamakura<br>(1185–1333)                    | 鎌倉       | mikaeshi-e                                    | 見返繪   |
| kambun                                     | 漢文       | mikkyō                                        | 密教    |
| Kan'ei<br>(1624–44)                        | 寬永       | Minamoto no Kintada<br>(d. 948)               | 源公忠   |
| Kan'ei Sampitsu                            | 寬永三筆     | Mokuan Shōtō [C: Muan Xingtao]<br>(1611–1684) | 木庵性瑠  |
| <i>Kan-Fugen-bosatsu-gyōbō-kyō</i>         | 觀普賢菩薩行法經 | Momoyama<br>(1573–1615)                       | 桃山    |
| kana                                       | 仮名       | moriage                                       | 盛上    |
| kanji                                      | 漢字       | Muromachi<br>(1392–1573)                      | 室町    |
| kasen-e                                    | 歌仙繪      | <i>Muryōgi-kyō</i>                            | 無量義經  |
| Kasuga                                     | 春日       | <i>Myōhō-rengē-kyō</i>                        | 妙法蓮華經 |
| katakana                                   | 片仮名      |                                               |       |
| keman                                      | 華鬘       |                                               |       |
| Kenzan<br>(1663–1743)                      | 乾山       |                                               |       |

|                                                      |        |                                          |       |
|------------------------------------------------------|--------|------------------------------------------|-------|
| Nankai<br>(see Gion Nankai)                          | 南海     | sōsho                                    | 草書    |
| Nara                                                 | 奈良     | suzuribako                               | 硯箱    |
| nezame                                               | ねさめ    | Takagamine                               | 鷹峰    |
| Nishi Hongan-ji                                      | 西本願寺   | tanka                                    | 短歌    |
| Nobutada<br>(see Konoe Nobutada)                     | 信尹     | Tanomura Chikuden<br>(1777–1835)         | 田能村竹田 |
| Ōbaku                                                | 黄檗     | tanzaku                                  | 短冊    |
| Ōbaku Mokuan [C: Huangbo Muan]<br>(see Mokuan Shōtō) | 黄檗木庵   | tarashikomi                              | 描込    |
| Ogata Sōken<br>(1621–1687)                           | 尾形宗惟   | tatami                                   | 畳     |
| Ōita                                                 | 大分     | Tawaraya Sōtatsu<br>(act. ca. 1600–1640) | 俵屋宗達  |
| Ōnakatomi no Yorimoto<br>(885–957)                   | 大中臣頼基  | Tempō                                    | 天保    |
| Onjō-ji<br>(see also Mii-dera)                       | 園城寺    | tensho                                   | 篆書    |
| Osaka                                                | 大阪     | tettekī [C:tiedi]                        | 鐵笛    |
| reisho                                               | 隸書     | Tetsuō Gikō<br>(1295–1369)               | 徹翁義享  |
| Rinzai [C: Linji]                                    | 臨濟     | tokonoma                                 | 床の間   |
| Saigū no Nyōgo<br>(929–985)                          | 齋宮女御   | Tokugawa<br>(1615–1868)                  | 徳川    |
| Saigyō<br>(1118–1206)                                | 西行     | Tokugawa Hidetada<br>(1579–1632)         | 徳川秀忠  |
| Sanjūrokkasen                                        | 三十六歌仙  | Tokugawa Iemitsu<br>(1604–1651)          | 徳川家光  |
| Sanjūrokumin-shū                                     | 三十六人集  | Tōshōdai-ji                              | 唐招提寺  |
| Sanmyaku-in                                          | 三藐院    | tsugigami                                | 継紙    |
| Seson-ji                                             | 世尊寺    | Tsurayuki-shū                            | 貫之集   |
| shikishi                                             | 色紙     | uta-e                                    | 歌絵    |
| Shin kokin wakashū                                   | 新古今和歌集 | uta-awase                                | 歌合    |
| Shōkadō Shōjō<br>(1584–1639)                         | 松花堂昭乗  | waka                                     | 和歌    |
| Shōren-in                                            | 青蓮院    | Wakan rōeishū                            | 和歌朗詠集 |
| Shūhō Myōchō<br>(1282–1337)                          | 宗峰妙超   | Wakayama                                 | 和歌山   |
| Shūi wakashū                                         | 拾遺和歌集  | wayō                                     | 和様    |
| shūji                                                | 種子     | Yakuō bosatsu                            | 薬王菩薩  |
| sōgana                                               | 草仮名    | Yakushi Nyōrai                           | 薬師如来  |
| Sōshin<br>(act. ca. 1830)                            | 素心     | Zen [C:Chan]                             | 禪     |



Arabic, Persian, and Turkish

| Catalogue                                                     | Encyclopedia of Islam                           |                                                             |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| Abbasid                                                       | ‘Abbāsīd                                        | عَبَّاسِيّ                                                  |
| Abd al-Aziz Bahadur Khan<br>(r. 1534–39)                      | ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Bahādur Khān                      | عَبْدُ الْعَزِيزِ بَهَادُرْ خَان                            |
| Abd al-Malik<br>(r. 685–705)                                  | ‘Abd al-Malik                                   | عَبْدُ الْمَلِكِ                                            |
| Abdallah Jami<br>(d. 1520–21)                                 | ‘Abdallāh Djāmī                                 | عَبْدُ اللَّهِ جَامِي                                       |
| Abu Ismail Abdallah Ansari<br>(1006–1088)                     | Abū Ismā‘īl ‘Abdallāh Anṣārī                    | أَبُو إِسْمَاعِيلَ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ أَنْصَارِي                |
| Abdur Rahman Jami                                             | ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Djāmī                            | عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ جَامِي                                   |
| Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Ahmad Asid                             | Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Asīd               | أَحْمَدُ بْنُ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ أَحْمَدَ أَسِيد                |
| Ahmed ibn Ibrahim Han el-Muzaffer Daima<br>(r. 1691–95)       | Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Muzaffar                   | أَحْمَدُ بْنُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ خَانَ الْمُظَفَّرِ دَائِمًا      |
| Aishi ibn Ishrati                                             | ‘A’ishī ibn Ishratī                             | عَائِشِيٌّ بْنُ إِشْرَاتِي                                  |
| Ali                                                           | ‘Alī                                            | عَلِيٌّ                                                     |
| Ali ibn al-Husain                                             | ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn                              | عَلِيٌّ بْنُ الْحُسَيْنِ                                    |
| Ali ibn al-Muhammad                                           | ‘Alī ibn al-Muḥammad                            | عَلِيٌّ بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ                                      |
| Ali ibn al-Musa                                               | ‘Alī ibn al-Mūsā                                | عَلِيٌّ بْنُ مُوسَى                                         |
| Ali ibn Musa al-Riza<br>(d. 818)                              | ‘Alī ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā                           | عَلِيٌّ بْنُ مُوسَى الرَّضَا                                |
| al-kufi al-baghdadi                                           | al-kūfī al baghdādī                             | الْكُوفِيُّ الْبَغْدَادِي                                   |
| al-kufi al-farisi                                             | al-kūfī al-fārisī                               | الْكُوفِيُّ الْفَارِسِي                                     |
| al-Malik al-Mujahid Sayf ad-Din Ali ibn Dawud<br>(r. 1322–63) | al-Malik al-Mudjāhīd Saif al-Dīn ‘Alī ibn Dāwūd | الْمَلِكُ الْمُجَاهِدُ سَيْفُ الدِّينِ عَلِيِّ بْنِ دَاوُدَ |
| al-Malik al-Zahir Shadhi                                      | al-Malik al-Zāhīr Shādhī                        | الْمَلِكُ الظَّاهِرُ شَادِي                                 |
| al-Muqtadir<br>(r. 908–32)                                    | al-Muḥtadīr                                     | الْمُقْتَدِرُ                                               |
| al-Nasir Muhammad<br>(r. 1294–95; 1299–1309; 1309–40)         | al-Nāṣir Muḥammad                               | النَّاصِرُ مُحَمَّدٌ                                        |
| al-Qahir<br>(r. 932–34)                                       | al-Qāhīr                                        | الْقَاهِرُ                                                  |
| al-Radi<br>(r. 934–40)                                        | al-Rādī                                         | الرَّادِي                                                   |
| Allah                                                         | Allāh                                           | اللَّهُ                                                     |

| Catalogue                                               | Encyclopedia of Islam                         |                                      | Catalogue                                 | Encyclopedia of Islam                      |                                   |
|---------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Badr al-Din Lulu<br>(d. 1259)                           | Badr al-Din Lu <sup>3</sup> Lu <sup>3</sup>   | بَدْرُ الدِّينِ لَوْلُو              | Iran                                      | Iran                                       | إِيرَان                           |
| Baghdad                                                 | Baghdād                                       | بَغْدَاد                             | Isfahan                                   | Iṣfāhān                                    | إِصْفَهَان                        |
| Bahram Mirza<br>(1507–1549)                             | Bahrām Mirza                                  | بَهْرَامِ مِيرْزَا                   | Iskandar Mirza<br>(1384–1415)             | Iskandar Mīrzā                             | إِسْكَانْدَرِ مِيرْزَا            |
| basmla                                                  | basmla                                        | الْبَسْمَلَة                         | Istanbul                                  | Istanbul                                   | إِسْتَانْبُول                     |
| Baysunghur                                              | Bāysunghur                                    | بَايْسُنْغُر                         | Jafar al-Tabrizi<br>(act. 1421–33)        | Dja‘far al-Tabrīzī                         | جَعْفَرُ التَّابْرِيزِي           |
| Biga                                                    | bigḥa                                         | بِيغَه                               | Jafar ibn Muhammad                        | Dja‘far ibn Muḥammad                       | جَعْفَرُ بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ           |
| Bihzad<br>(d. 1536–37)                                  | Bihzād                                        | بِهْزَاد                             | Jahangir<br>(r. 1605–27)                  | Djahāngīr                                  | جَاهَانْغِير                      |
| Bukhara                                                 | Bukhāra                                       | بُخَارَى                             | Junaid ibn Ammar al-<br>Ala               | Djunayd ibn ‘Ammār<br>al-‘Alā <sup>3</sup> | جُنَيْدُ بْنُ عَمَّارِ الْعَلَاءِ |
| Daulatkhana                                             | Dawlatkhāna                                   | دَوْلَتْخَانَه                       | Kamal al-Din<br>(d. 1556–57)              | Ḳamāl al-Dīn                               | كَامَالُ الدِّينِ                 |
| Delhi                                                   | Dihlī                                         | دِهْلِي                              | Khamsa                                    | Khamsa                                     | خَمْسَة                           |
| divani                                                  | dīwānī                                        | الدِّيْوَانِي                        | Khaqan                                    | Khāqān                                     | خَاكَاان                          |
| Fatima                                                  | Fāṭima                                        | فَاطِمَة                             | Khidr                                     | Khidr                                      | الْخَضِر                          |
| Fatima bint Zaid                                        | Fāṭima bint Zaid                              | فَاطِمَةُ بِنْتُ زَيْدٍ              | Khorasan                                  | Khurāsān                                   | خُرَّاسَانَ                       |
| Fatimid                                                 | Fāṭimid                                       | فَاطِمِي                             | Khusrau u Shirin                          | Khusrāw u Shirīn                           | خُسْرَوُ وَشِيرِينَ               |
| firman                                                  | farmān                                        | فَرْمَانَ                            | kitabkhana                                | kitābkhāna                                 | كِتَابْخَانَه                     |
| ghubar                                                  | ghubār                                        | الْغُبَار                            | kufic                                     | kūfic                                      | الْكُوفِي                         |
| Haft Awrang                                             | Haft Awrang                                   | هَفْتِ أَوْرَنْد                     | maghribi                                  | maghribī                                   | الْمَغْرِبِي                      |
| Haft Manzar                                             | Haft Manzar                                   | هَفْتِ مَنْظَر                       | Mahdi                                     | Mahdī                                      | مَهْدِي                           |
| hamza                                                   | hamza                                         | الْهَمْزَة                           | mail                                      | mā'il                                      | الْمَائِل                         |
| Hasan                                                   | Ḥasan                                         | حَسَن                                | Majd al-Mulk al-<br>Muzaffar<br>(d. 1221) | Maḍjd al-Mulk al-<br>Muẓaffar              | مَجْدُ الْمَلِكِ الْمُظَفَّر      |
| Hatifi<br>(see Abdallah Jami)                           | Hātifi                                        | هَاتِفِي                             | Malik al-Dailami<br>(d. 1561–62)          | Mālik al-Daylamī                           | مَالِكُ الدَّيْلَمِي              |
| Havin                                                   | Havīn                                         | هَوِين                               | Mamluk<br>(1250–1517)                     | Mamlūk                                     | مَمْلُوك                          |
| Herat                                                   | Harāt                                         | هَرَاة                               | Mashhad                                   | Meshhed                                    | مَشْهَد                           |
| Husain                                                  | Ḥusayn                                        | حُسَيْن                              | Masjid-i Shah                             | Masjd-i Shāh                               | مَسْجِدُ شَاه                     |
| ibn al-Bawwab<br>(d. 1022)                              | ibn al-Bawwāb                                 | ابْنُ الْبَوَّابِ                    | Maulana Abdi<br>(d. aft. 1540?)           | Mawlānā ‘Abdī                              | مَوْلَانَا عَبْدِ                 |
| ibn Muqla<br>(d. 940)                                   | ibn Muqla                                     | ابْنُ مُقْلَةَ                       | Mehmed Remi Pasha                         | Meḥmed Remi Pashā                          | مُحَمَّدُ رَمِي پَاشَا            |
| Ikhtiyar al-Munshi al-<br>Sultani<br>(see Kamal al-Din) | Ikhtiyār al-Munshī <sup>3</sup><br>al-Sulṭānī | إِخْتِيَارُ الْمُنْشِي السُّلْطَانِي | Mir Ali<br>(see Mir Ali al-Husayni)       | Mīr ‘Alī                                   | مِيرِ عَلِي                       |
| il-Khanid<br>(1256–1333)                                | ilkhānīd                                      | إِلْخَانِي                           |                                           |                                            |                                   |



| Catalogue                                               | Encyclopedia of Islam                  |                                                     | Catalogue                                                               | Encyclopedia of Islam          |                                      |
|---------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Mir Ali al-Husayni (d. 1556)                            | Mīr ʿAlī al-Husaynī                    | میر علی الحسینی                                     | rihan                                                                   | rīhān                          | الرِّيحَان                           |
| Mir Ali al-Tabrizi (ca. 1340–1420)                      | Mīr ʿAlī al-Tabrīzī                    | میر علی التبریزی                                    | riqa                                                                    | rikāʿ                          | الرِّقَاع                            |
| Mir Ali ibn Hasan al-Sultani (see Mir Ali al-Tabrizi)   | Mīr ʿAlī ibn Ḥasan al-Sultānī          | میر علی بن حسن السلطانی                             | Rustam Ali (d. 1562–63)                                                 | Rustam ʿAlī                    | رُستَمَ عَلِيّ                       |
| Mirza Ali (d. aft. 1560)                                | Mīrzā ʿAlī                             | میرزا علی                                           | Safavid (1501–1786)                                                     | Şafawid                        | صَفَوِيّ                             |
| Mirza Khwajagi                                          | Mīrzā Khwājagi                         | میرزا خواجهگی                                       | Salim al-Katib (d. 1582–83)                                             | Sālim al-Kātib                 | سَالِمُ الْكَاتِبِ                   |
| Mughal                                                  | Mughāl                                 | مُغَال                                              | Samanid (819–1005)                                                      | Sāmānid                        | سَامَانِيّ                           |
| Muhammad                                                | Muḥammad                               | مُحَمَّدٌ                                           | Sarmin                                                                  | Şarmīn                         | صَرْمِين                             |
| Muhammad ibn Ali                                        | Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī                      | مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عَلِيّ                               | Shadhi ibn Muhammad ibn Ayyub (1281–1341/42)                            | Shādhī ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAyyūb | شَادِيّ بْنُ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ أَيُّوبَ |
| muhaqqaq                                                | muḥaqqaq                               | المُحَقِّقُ                                         | Shah Ismail (r. 1501–24)                                                | Shāh Ismāʿīl                   | شَاهُ إِسْمَاعِيلَ                   |
| Muhibb Ali (d. aft. 1565)                               | Muḥibb ʿAlī                            | مُحِبُّ عَلِيّ                                      | Shah Jahan (r. 1628–57)                                                 | Shāh D̲jahān                   | شَاهُ جَهَانَ                        |
| Munajat                                                 | Munājāt                                | مُنَاجَات                                           | Shah Mahmud al-Nishapuri (d. 1574–75?)                                  | Shāh Maḥmūd al-Nishāpurī       | شَاهُ مُحَمَّدُ النَّيْشَابُورِيّ    |
| Mustafa II (r. 1695–1703)                               | Muṣṭafā II                             | مُصْطَفَى الثَّانِي                                 | Shah Tahmasp (1524–76)                                                  | Shāh Ṭahmāsp                   | شَاهُ طَهْمَسَب                      |
| Muzaffar Ali (d. aft. 1576–77)                          | Muẓaffar ʿAlī                          | مُظَفَّرُ عَلِيّ                                    | Shahnama                                                                | Shāhnāma                       | شَاهَنَامَه                          |
| naskh (or naskhi)                                       | naskh                                  | النَّسْخ                                            | Shaybanid (1500–1598)                                                   | Shaybanid                      | شَيْبَانِيّ                          |
| nastaliq                                                | nasta ʿliq                             | نَسْتَعْلِيْق                                       | Shaykh Auhad al-Din Nizami (see Nizam ad-Din Abu Muhammad Ilyas Nizami) | Shaykh Auhad al-Din Niẓāmī     | شَيْخُ أَوْحَدِ الدِّينِ نِظَامِيّ   |
| Nishapur                                                | Nīshāpūr                               | نَيْشَابُور                                         | Shaykh Hamdullah (d. 1520)                                              | Shaykh Ḥamd Allāh              | شَيْخُ حَمْدَ اللَّهِ                |
| Nizam ad-Din Abu Muhammad Ilyas Nizami (1140/41–1202/3) | Nizam al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad Ilyās Niẓāmī | نِظَامُ الدِّينِ أَبُو مُحَمَّدٍ الْيَاسِ نِظَامِيّ | Shaykh Muhammad (d. aft. 1570)                                          | Shaykh Muḥammad                | شَيْخُ مُحَمَّدٌ                     |
| Nur al-Din Jahangir (see Jahangir)                      | Nūr al-Din D̲jahāngīr                  | نُورُ الدِّينِ جِهَانْگِير                          | Shaykh Zadeh (d. aft. 1540)                                             | Shaykh Zāde                    | شَيْخُ زَادَه                        |
| Qadi Ahmad (d. aft. 1606)                               | Qāḍī Aḥmad                             | قَاضِي أَحْمَدُ                                     | Shazi                                                                   | Shāḍī                          | شَازِيّ                              |
| qalam                                                   | qalam                                  | القَلَمُ                                            | Shi'ite                                                                 | Shīʿte                         | شَيْعِيّ                             |
| Qazvin                                                  | Qazwīn                                 | قَزْوِين                                            | sukun                                                                   | suḵūn                          | السُّكُونُ                           |
| Qum                                                     | Qum                                    | قُومُ                                               | Sultan Ahmed II (see Ahmed ibn Ibrahim Han el-Muzaffer Daima)           | Suṭān Aḥmed                    | سُلْطَانُ أَحْمَدَ                   |
| Qur'an                                                  | Qurʿan                                 | الْقُرْآنُ الْكَرِيمُ                               |                                                                         |                                |                                      |
| Ramadan                                                 | Ramaḍān                                | رَمَضَانَ                                           |                                                                         |                                |                                      |
| rang nivisi                                             | rang-nivīsī                            | رَنگِ نَوِيْسِيّ                                    |                                                                         |                                |                                      |
| Rasulid (1229–1454)                                     | Rasūlid                                | رَسُوْلِيّ                                          |                                                                         |                                |                                      |

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|------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Sultan Ali<br>(1442–1519)                      | Sulṭān ʿAlī                    | سُلْطَان عَلِيّ                 |
| Sultan Ibrahim Mirza<br>(1538–1577)            | Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā           | سُلْطَان اِبْرَاهِيم مِيرْزَا   |
| Sultan Mirak<br>(d. aft. 1540)                 | Sulṭān Mīrak                   | سُلْطَان مِيرَاك                |
| Sultan Muhammad Nur<br>(d. 1533)               | Sulṭān Muḥammad Nūr            | سُلْطَان مُحَمَّد نُوْر         |
| Sultan Sanjar<br>(r. 1118–57)                  | Sulṭān Sandjar                 | سُلْطَان سَنَجَر                |
| sura                                           | sūra                           | سُوْرَة                         |
| Tabriz                                         | Tabrīz                         | تَبْرِيز                        |
| taliq                                          | taʿlīk                         | التَّعْلِيْق                    |
| tarassul                                       | tarassul                       | التَّرَسُّل                     |
| tashdīd                                        | tashdīd                        | التَّشْدِيْد                    |
| tauqi                                          | tawqīʿ                         | التَّوْقِيْع                    |
| thuluth                                        | thuluth                        | الثُّلُث                        |
| Timurid<br>(1370–1506)                         | Timūrid                        | تِيْمُوْرِيّ                    |
| tughra                                         | tughra                         | الطُّغْرَاء                     |
| tumar                                          | ṭumār                          | الطُّوْمَار                     |
| Umayyad<br>(661–750)                           | Umayyad                        | أُمُوْي                         |
| wasla                                          | waṣla                          | الْوَصْلَة                      |
| Yaqut al-Mustasimi<br>(d. 1298)                | Yāqūt al-Mustaʿsimī            | يَاقُوْت الْمُسْتَعْسِمِيّ      |
| Yemen                                          | Yaman                          | الْيَمَن                        |
| Zahir ad-Din<br>Muhammad Babur<br>(r. 1526–30) | Zahīr ad-Dīn<br>Muḥammad Bābur | ظَاهِر الدِّيْن مُحَمَّد بَابُر |
| zarrin qalam                                   | zarrīn qalam                   | زَرِّيْن قَلَم                  |



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| Catalogue Number | Accession Number  | Catalogue Number | Accession Number |
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| 1                | 30.54             | 37               | 57.24            |
| 2                | 81.4a,b,c,d       | 38               | 48.16            |
| 3                | 82.2              | 39               | 36.7             |
| 4                | 19.119            | 40               | 29.68r-29.69v    |
| 5                | 80.7              | 41               | 45.18            |
| 6                | 80.8a             | 42               | 34.20            |
| 7                | 37.12             | 43               | 38.15            |
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| 27               | 81.16             |                  |                  |
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## *By Accession Number*

| <u>Accession Number</u> | <u>Catalogue Number</u> | <u>Accession Number</u> | <u>Catalogue Number</u> |
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| 78.11                   | 34                      |                         |                         |











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